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ABSTRACT

The report includes a conference summary, introductory remarks, keynote address, four conference papers and comments on each, and summary of major policy issues. The keynote address reviews policies and practices affecting migrant children, the roots of the migratory farm labor system, impact of migrancy on families; services for migrant children, and accomplishments of the past 15 years. The first paper briefly examines historic and current trends in farm employment in the United States, focusing on the numbers and characteristics of hired farmworkers and migratory labor; factors affecting the farm labor force size and composition; the likelihood of the 1970s farm employment trends continuing into the 1980s; and policy and program implications for workers and farm operators, focusing on black migrants, the second paper looks at family characteristics that influence child-rearing, movement and stimulus change, speech, and the child's education, health and nutritional needs. Focusing on Hispanic migrants, the next paper discusses entitlement, child labor, migrants and crime, the national news media and problems of migrant children, and impact of immigration on U.S.-Mexican relations. The last paper reviews the historical approaches to agricultural labor, past strategies, and alternative strategies. Major policy issues (migrant farm labor, child labor, immigration, rural development, research and development, child and family support systems, self-determination for farmworkers) are summarized. (NQA)

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PUBLIC POLICY AND THE MIGRANT CHILD

A SYMPOSIUM

CONFERENCE REPORT AND PAPERS

1981

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN, INC.
310 East 42nd Street New York, N.Y. 10017
212-228-6102

Milton Schwebel Conference Chairman	Cassandra Stockburger Executive Director

The Symposium was held at the Continuing Education Center, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, October 17 - 19, 1980.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN, INC.

The National Organization for Migrant Children is a private non-profit organization founded in 1976 to meet the nationwide need for a non-governmental, public interest agency to serve as an advocate for the children of migrant farm workers.

Its purposes are to promote the welfare of migrant children, to assist in the development of public policies designed to provide opportunities for their mental and physical development; to develop programs to meet the needs of these children and to seek to direct resources toward meeting those needs.

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FOREWORD

When policy appears to be ineffective, it is appropriate to assess both its implementation and the policy itself. That, in brief, was the reason for conducting the Symposium on Public Policy and the Migrant Child.

The quality of life of the migrant child seems not to be significantly improved since Edward R. Murrow's television documentary on the migrant farm worker shook the nation in 1960. Services to the child appear to be not materially better than in 1969-1970 when a study of programs funded under the Migrant Amendment to Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, directed by Cassandra Stockburger, was carried out, and published as Wednesday's Children.[1] School instruction of migrant children seems not to have been elevated in quality since the 1973 conference, also directed by Cassandra Stockburger, which led to the published policy statement on Staff Development for Migrant Education.[2] Hence, the National Organization for Migrant Children decided that a review of policy was essential.

Policy that pertains to the migrant child is both comprehensive and complex. The general welfare of the child is obviously a function of the parents' income, working conditions, and their relationship with each other and the children, and also of the child's employment status and the education available to him or her.

To limit the attention of those concerned with the welfare of migrant children just narrowly to the children themselves, to policy issues and legislation only about them, is to obscure some of the underlying problems and to ignore issues of transcending importance in their lives. Such a literal interpretation would be akin to studying the mental health of children in general without reference to the lives of their parents or to the social, economic, political, and psychological factors in the broader society that inevitably impinge upon the lives and consciousness of the children.

The National Organization for Migrant Children, in planning this Symposium, chose to examine the broad issues, with particular reference to the economic factors which gave rise to and perpetuated migrant labor per se.

The committee that designed the Symposium (Linda Bain, Irving Louis Horowitz, Cassandra Stockburger and Milton Schwebel), and the NOMC Executive Board that approved it, were influenced by studies in policy science. Of particular relevance were the five necessary intellectual activities in reaching policy decisions: "Clarification of goals, description of trends, analysis of conditions, projection of future developments, and invention, evaluation and selection of alternatives."[3] The report that follows shows that, taken together, the Symposium through the introductory remarks and keynote address, the papers, discussion and summary, included each of those activities. The alternatives which participants selected before the conclusion of the conference will shape NOMC policy and programs in the foreseeable future.

This conference, like all the activities of NOMC, would not have been realized but for the commitment, intelligence and resourcefulness of Cassandra Stockburger, the indefatigable Executive Director. Nor would the Symposium have been possible without the generous support given by the Ford Foundation to which NOMC, on behalf of all migrant children, is grateful.

Milton Schwebel
New Brunswick, N.J.

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1. Wednesday's Children. National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, New York, N.Y., 1971.

2. A Policy Statement on Staff Development. National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, New York, N.Y. 1973.

3. Lasswell, Harold D. Policy Sciences. In Sills, D.L. (editor), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Macmillan & Free Press, Vol. 12, pp. 181-189.

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

Throughout the twentieth century educators and other social planners have been thwarted in their efforts to find solutions to the problems of the migrant farm worker child. Uprooted, poorly educated, and lacking adequate nutrition and health care, these children move in and out of thousands of communities throughout the United States every year.

Many work along side their parents, starting at a very early age. Poor enforcement of child labor laws, along with the parents willingness or need to have the children work, as well as the resistance of employers to giving up this part of their labor supply, have served to reinforce migrancy and its related problems.

Two decades of federal programs, targetted toward the migrant child and his family have failed to make significant changes in the way these children live and work. This raises serious questions about the ability of such isolated and one dimensional approaches to make an impact on the multiple problems caused by the migration and poverty of most migrant farm worker families.

Thus, the National Organization for Migrant Children called the Symposium on Public Policy and the Migrant Child to take a broader look at the needs of the migrant child. The Symposium was designed to look at these needs in terms of the nation's overall social and economic policies.

The Symposium examined three specific areas. The first was a look at the overall agricultural labor picture. This discussion centered on agricultural labor needs through the 1980s and their implications for the economy, the farm labor supply, present agricultural labor production and labor policy, as well as their impact on the migrant farm worker and his children.

The second area was a more specific look at public policy, especially in the area of human services, and its effect on the migrant child. This discussion covered such areas as immigration, entitlement of non-resident children to community services, protection of the young worker and the traditional incremental program approach to meeting human need.

The third area was a broad based discussion of alternatives to the present use of migrant farm labor. It covered such topics as decasualization of farm labor jobs, mechanization and labor agreements.

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Prior to the meeting, papers were commissioned in the three major areas and responses to these papers were prepared by other Symposium leaders. There was also an opportunity for full discussion by all participants.

Persons attending the Symposium came from a variety of backgrounds and professional disciplines. There were economists, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, attorneys and educators from academic settings; also, service providers from federal, state and community based farm worker and migrant child programs and agencies, as well as farm labor specialists and child advocates from the private sector.

The primary focus of the Symposium was to provide a forum for the discussion of policy issues raised in the papers and thus to get these issues before legislators and other federal and state administrators, policy makers and child advocates. While the primary responsibility for communicating these issues to policy makers and to the public rests with the National Organization for Migrant Children, it is expected that Symposium participants and others reading the report of the proceedings will include these concerns in their own consideration of socio/economic issues whether in the university, in formulating guidelines for programs or advocating for children's rights.

The migrant child problem was placed in an historical perspective by Dr. Irving Louis Horowitz, professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University, in his opening remarks at the first session. Dr. Horowitz emphasized that a major problem in developing policy for children is that "They are the one group in society that needs the help of someone else to speak in their behalf. They are the one interest group," he said, "who have no voice of their own." "It is extremely important that since children do not speak for themselves," he continued, "that the policies we recommend make sense to the community as a whole." He questioned the feasibility of speaking of "a policy for migrant children" except in the context of a policy for migrant labor as a whole.

Cassandra Stockburger, Executive Director of the National Organization for Migrant Children, in the keynote address, charged that "policy makers at the turn of the century set the stage for continued child labor on the farms because they did not include children working in agriculture in protective legislation." Ms. Stockburger contended that "myths persist that agricultural work, even commercial agricultural work, does not require the same protection provided children in other industries." "Further," she emphasized, "approaches to human needs of migrant farm worker children have been piece-meal and chaotic. And, despite the ever-increasing expenditures of funds and the growth of a migrant service industry in the past decade and a half, many migrant children remain without the basic services provided most children in this country."

FARM WORKER PANEL

A panel composed of three former migrant farm workers discussed life on the road and in the farm labor camps. All three are currently employed in farm worker community programs.

Mrs. Abbie Martin of New York State, told the group that she was able, as an adult with several children, to leave migrant farm work because she was helped by persons in the community. She has now completed college and her children are in college.

The other two participants, Rosa Rodriguez of New York and Mrs. Lillian Stroud of Delaware, spoke of the difficulties of staying in school when migrating from state to state. The inconsistencies of school curriculum and the unavailability of records were two problems they cited. All agreed that education for their children or themselves was a strong factor in ending their migrancy.

It was agreed that although the parents role in deciding whether a child would work or go to school was a key one, the issue of child labor is complex. The ultimate decision is influenced by such factors as income, availability of child care, and the relevance of education.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR NEEDS IN THE 1980s

Leslie W. Smith, a sociologist with the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), along with Robert Coltrane, a USDA economist, prepared the paper on agricultural labor needs. Ms. Smith, who presented the paper, reported that according to the best data available, it seems clear that agriculture labor needs in the current decade will be less dramatic than they were in the decades of the fifties and sixties. Barring any unforeseen changes there should be a steady increase in the employment of hired farm workers as they continue to replace the family farm worker. Ms. Smith pointed out the diversity among farm workers, especially in terms of the length of time they spend in farm work each year. Some depend on farm work as their principal source of income.

Others work only a few days each year to supplement their other income.

A major concern in consideration of the farm labor work force was the general lack of acceptable data on the number and characteristics of the work force. Differences in agricultural labor needs in various parts of the country because of the kinds of crops, the soil and the planting patterns appeared to indicate that only regional collection of data would provide the information needed.

Robert Emerson, a food research economist from the University of Florida, warned that "we need to be careful in suggesting policy strictly for agricultural labor markets per se. Due to movement in and out of the labor force between farm and non-farm sectors, a much broader view than strictly an occupational category is necessary for developing appropriate policy."

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE MIGRANT CHILD

In the consideration of Public Policy and the Migrant Child, Richard Morrison of Virginia's Commonwealth University, declared, "We live in a nation in which there is no policy on children in general. Efforts to make policy for children and especially poor children have been resisted in the past because of incrementalism and democratic processes in which policy formation goes forth." Janice Hale of the Yale University Child Development Center, emphasized in discussing the Black child and public policy that you cannot measure programs by the numbers of programs and teachers and learning kits. "After you achieve the quantitative," she said, "you have the qualitative problems which we cannot measure by commitment, energy, or even desire for achievement."

Tomás Martinez, associate professor of criminology at California State University, Fresno, spoke of the treatment of farm workers as one of the barriers to good relations between the United States and Mexico. The alleged incarceration of children of undocumented workers apprehended along the border is creating concern in Mexico. He called for more humane immigration policies and for monitoring of the border situation by an agency other than the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Lea Pellett, a sociologist from Christopher Newport College, in Virginia, urged that we not be misled by the growth of migrant service programs. She expressed concern that we know very little about the diverse migrant population for whom these programs are designated. Ms. Pellett expressed doubt that children can be adequately educated in the few weeks they are enrolled in many schools.

Dr. Thelma C. D. Adair, national president of Church Women United and a member of the NOMC Board of Directors, closed the session on children and policy by reminding the participants that "If it takes fourteen or fourteen hundred years and we get a new system for children, it is worth the effort. Jaded or not, some of us must fight to change the system."

CONCLUSION

The farm labor problem is large and complex. Workers in agriculture are diverse and range from the housewife or student, who occasionally goes into the field for a few days to supplement the family income, to those persons, migratory and non-migratory, who depend on farmwork as their major source of income.

Children in agriculture are affected, both as workers and as members of farm worker families. Children in migratory families experience not only the poverty of most such workers, but live lives of disrupted education and uprootedness from community.

Little research is being carried out which gives useful data either as to the nature and distribution of the workers or the disparate socio/economic needs of the workers and their families. Data collected by the United States Department of Agriculture according to regional diversities would provide more useful information on the agricultural work force than that presently collected on a national basis. Research is needed into living styles and patterns of the various groups of children found in the migrant population. This is particularly needed prior to designing support systems.

Current programs and services appear to operate on a theory that more is not only better, but that it is an important criteria for meeting needs. The concept of incrementalism and the political process by which policy is made and programs designed has discouraged the development of a coherent national policy on children, in general, and on poor children, in particular.

Although much protective legislation has been extended to farm workers in the past decade or so, the failure to inform farmworkers of their rights and to implement this legislation where farm workers are concerned is indicative of the real public policy of the United States in regard to this group of workers.

The problems of farm workers have worsened as waves of new workers, many of them undocumented, have entered the United States in recent years. Children of these undocumented workers face serious threats. In some cases, they have been denied access to such public services as education. In others, they have not sought such services because they feared they would be apprehended. Where parents are taken into custody the fate of the children is uncertain. There have been numerous reports and allegations of incarceration of infants and children along the border for lack of other facilities to care for the children while their parents are in jail. This alleged mistreatment of Mexican children has added to the negative perceptions of the United States by the people of Mexico.

It is widely recognized that the farm labor system as it has operated throughout the past century serves neither the employee or the employer well. The migratory agricultural labor force, while only about eight percent of all hired farm workers, is nevertheless a population on which considerable attention has been focussed over the past two decades. Numerous social service and manpower programs have been targeted to this population and millions of dollars have been spent each year by the Federal government on special education, health, day care and housing. But these programs which have grown from having a budget of under $30 million in the early 1960s to more than a half billion dollars in 1980, have made little impact on the way migrant farm workers and their children live and work. For example, child labor continues while migrant children drop out of school at a rate almost equal to that of thirty years ago.

What changes in national policy are required if the social and economic needs of migrant farm workers are to be met? Speakers in the Symposium tended to agree that the solutions to migrant farm worker problems lie not only in their treatment as an integral part of the total agricultural work force and the agricultural economy, but also of the entire labor force and national economy.

It was concluded that children in families who migrate are the greatest "at-risk" among the farm worker population. Additional risks were seen when these families were dependent upon farm work for their total income and when migration took place during the school term. This particularly great "at-risk" population, it was felt, might well become the target for initiating change.

There appeared to be consensus that family migration ought to end. Although there is little research on motivation toward migrancy, there are studies which confirm that availability of jobs is a strong factor. If jobs are available where the family resides there is little reason to migrate. If jobs are not available, then jobs known to be available elsewhere, or the hope of finding a job elsewhere, may encourage migration. Although some believe that the availability of community services influence migration for farm work there appears to be no research which supports such a belief.

It was suggested that a strong family support system such as that provided under the 1980 Child Welfare Act, PL 96-272, might deter migration, especially if initiated at the home base.

Still another step toward the ending of migration, which was suggested, was the up-grading of educational opportunity for farm worker and migrant children in the elementary and secondary years. Poor education in many rural areas for all children was seen as providing little opportunity for future employment options. It was also suggested that persons currently employed in agriculture be given priority for placement in manpower development programs which are aimed toward providing jobs in agri-business.

The ultimate solution to ending farm migrancy was seen as the restructuring of the farm labor market so as to better serve the needs of employers and employees. Such restructuring would help to stabilize migrant workers and enable them to take charge of their own lives.

Pre-requisites for such restructuring would include identification of future jobs in agriculture and the training required. It would require the establishment of education and training programs so that farm workers have options for employment either in or out of agriculture.

Additional steps which were identified as part of the process for restructuring the farm labor market were:

- Establish personnel practices in farm worker employment.
- Decasualize farm jobs.
- Unionize workers or develop employment agreements.
- Provide information to workers regarding their rights under existing legislation.
- Provide family support systems--both preventive and care giving to sustain the family during any employment transition.

The results of such restructuring were seen as providing economic self-sufficiency for workers, allowing them to secure their own services and establish a political base. Another result would be the stabilizing of employment and residence which would, in turn, lessen the disruption of family life, the children's education, and allow worker participation in the political process. Farmers would benefit from a better trained and more experienced and reliable labor force.

A number of factors over which there is little control were seen as possible problems to such changes. These included weather conditions, fluctuations in crop productions (such as crop failure) and unrestricted replacement of workers, largely from outside the United States.

It was evident that the commitment of the Symposium participants was toward the development of national policy which would lead to the elimination of migrancy and the opportunity for migrant farm workers to take control over their own lives. At the same time, it was recognized that this must be done within the context of other national needs such as world markets, immigration and the national economy.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Irving Louis Horowitz

The problems of migrant children is a special case of the question of labor. This Conference is about the value of labor and the moral limits of its conversion into economic value.

In every society, no matter how crass or dedicated to commercial success, there are sacred objects which are exempt from the mentality of the bottom line. In every society there is a presumption that there is a sacred level that is not subject to operational laws of the market place, whatever the character of the social or economic system. Thus, the question of migrant labor generally and migrant child labor in particular at some level, is a question of assessing the value of children and the values of civilization.

Irving Louis Horowitz is Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science, Hannah Arendt Chair, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey; and editor-in-chief of Transaction/SOCIETY.

Child labor continues to raise a very complex and difficult issue: Does society remove a group of people from forms of labor which are considered productive in any given society in favor of a postponed settlement of accounts. It is not an easy problem when one thinks that less than 100 years ago nearly every mine in England and in the United States employed children to do specialized work. Every mill in the Northeast had children working spinning the jennies. The question of child labor--its prevention and adjudication--can be seen as a very recent and, indeed, an ongoing one.

The existence of migrant children also poses a question of the value of children in relation to the work process. For the most part, we have a kind of normative cutoff plane: now hovering between 16 and 18 years. But for a certain segment of the population--usually stratified in terms of race, ethnicity, geography--this revolution in values has not taken place. Where labor intensivity is high, there child labor is also high; and where capital intensitive forms of industrialization exists, there child labor is quite low. Hence the question of migrant child labor ultimately is a question of what sort of economy and society is acceptable as well as extant.

At what point can a civilization claim that it is sufficiently mature so that young children do not and are not required to work and are in effect removed from the labor process as children in order to become fully productive at a later point in time?

Every modern society has institutionalized a child centered ideology. Socialist systems provide for a child centered ideology. In fact, the early slogan of the Russian Revolution of 1917 was the need to sacrifice everything for the children, i.e., the children's generation. The problem of the American culture is that it is not entirely sure how to handle the question of ideology. It too holds out the need to protect and preserve children from abuses of the workplace no less than the home; but it also places a high premium on the ethic of hard work, free choice, and success through labor.

What then is the value--the endemic, intrinsic value--of children? If we look at the nineteenth century debates between those who were guaranteeing the lives of children in terms of insurance policies versus those who saw children as sacred objects, the whole debate is sharply focused. The issue of the value of the child becomes translated into cash value, into surrender value. How much is a child worth due to accidental death in an industrial setting? How much is a child's worth due to death or injury in an agrarian or agricultural setting? How much is a white middle class child worth vis-a-vis a migrant child of Latin background? The question of the value of a child in our society, in our civilization, is by no means a simple abstraction; more often than not such values are imparted to the children as they are rendered to adults from special racial, ethnic or religious circumstances. Further, distinctions of sex and gender also entered into these calculations and deliberations.

It is not simply a matter of removing the child or removing children from sources of labor. But in some way, somehow, putting such a high valuation on children that removing them from the process of labor becomes the only normal, valuative way to proceed.

This is a very abstract way of raising this concrete question. There is a risk of becoming bloodless about this issue. Still, some hard evaluations of this terribly neglected problem is what bring us together, no less than an impulse to share a moral, humane concern.

It is important to realize that we are dealing in a commercial area with a question of social values and not simply with a question of migrant labor. We are not dealing with a pedestrian issue of marginal importance in society, but an essential measure of a society. Child labor is not just an eccentric issue that we can take up and deal with as if it had no every day meaning. The age at which our children must earn a living is a definition of what American civilization is and what American civilization is not. It is only seen in this light, i.e., the value context, that issues of policy relevance can be raised and measurements can be made.

The problem at the policy level is special not only with respect to migrant children, but for children generally. They are the one group in society that needs the help of someone else to speak in their behalf. They are the one interest group that has no voice of its own. And this is a heavy responsibility. What is too often the case is a series of proxy voices or proxy positions on what children's rights ought to be, or what the norms in this area ought to be, in respect to migrant labor. Adults are making decisions on behalf of children for reasons that may or may not be licit. As a result, the need for sound information, no less than serious political postures, is entirely self-evident.

We are dealing with a population of nearly one million migrant children, very few of them have a voice of their own; indeed, very few of their parents or guardians have a voice or a clout of their own either. Thus, when we talk about the question of policy we are not talking about children as an interest group, let us say, the way homosexual males are a group, or any other group within a society that has the vote and the voice. The potential for impact must be registered by adults for children, or risk no significant changes at all. This very fact offers an added ethical dimension to a serious economic problem.

It is extremely important that since children do not speak for themselves, except parenthetically or marginally through the writings of adults about children, we have to be extremely careful that the policies we recommend make sense to the community as a whole. That is to say, I do not know that it is feasible to speak of a policy for migrant children. One might be able to speak of a policy for migrant labor, in which the role of education is such that the question of children's labor power can be encompassed in that wider area. Until and unless migrant labor, as such, has the capacity to speak and unless migrant work is raised as a fundamental policy concern, the question of migrant children will not be resolved.

Again, because of the family context of migrancy, this issue of child labor is not going to be resolved apart from the question of migrant labor as such. We are dealing with an ubiquitous, difficult and vexatious area. It has puzzled American social and educational reform throughout the twentieth century. It has been a preoccupation of many social movements and social welfare agencies. Yet, child labor has remarkably resisted solution. In part, I think this is because we have tried to address child labor as an issue apart from the specific conditions of work.

This Conference has brought together a remarkable group of people, many of whom I have worked with in academic settings like Bill Friedland, and other, equally capable people like Cassandra Stockburger who have dedicated much of their time to raising consciousness to a sadly neglected social problem that has not gone away, but instead has only gone underground; where polite society can mistake the silence of children for the solution to their--and our--ailments.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

BUT WHAT IF IT HAD NOT BEEN IN THE OPEN AIR?

A Review of Policies and Practices Affecting the Children of Migrant Farm Workers

Cassandra Stockburger

At about the turn of the century, one of the greatest moral crusades in behalf of children gained momentum. It was a crusade that was to profoundly affect the lives of millions of children from working class and poor families across the nation. This was the crusade to end child labor and to provide free public education for all children.

It required more than three decades to win any significant victories in this fight to remove children from exploitation in the mines, the textile mills and the farms. And, then the victory came in 1938, not so much because the nation was concerned about the welfare of child workers, but, because in the depths of the nation's worst economic depression it made more sense to give the available jobs to adults rather than to children.

Despite the initial progress made in the development of a public policy which eliminated much work for children under the age of sixteen and provided the opportunity for all children to be educated, there was uneven application of this policy. Even the crusaders for the protection of children from exploitative child labor saw work in agriculture as different from other work. Consequently, farm work has continued to be surrounded and protected by unrelenting myths about these differences.

For example, in 1906, Dr. Felix Adler, then Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, delivered a speech entitled "Attitude of Society Toward the Child As an Index of Civilization." In this speech Dr. Adler said

> Some strong robust men who have worked on farms, perhaps worked their way up, have an idea that work is good for little children; but work on the farm is one thing, and work in a cotton mill, especially at night...is quite a different matter.

Cassandra Stockburger is Executive Director of the National Organization for Migrant Children.

And the same year, Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, the author of the first child labor legislation and a fervent crusader in the child labor cause, said in a speech entitled "Child Labor and the Nation in 1906,"

> I think I understand how those young men and women who, as Dr. Adler said, had been exhausted in their youth, feel when they attain manhood. I myself began physical labor earlier than twelve, hard labor--too hard for any child of eighteen or nineteen. But after all, that was in the open air, in the field, beautiful with waving banners of the corn and fragrant with the smells of the brown earth, upturned by the plowshare; it was on the grades of railways with great, gross, rough, but vital and kindly men about me; it was in the logging camps with the majesty of the woods about me. It was bitter work; it was too heavy for any child, but after all, over me by day always was the marvelous blue of God's splendid dome or the glory of his clouds, or over me by night the eternal stars kept their sentinel watch and always there was the pure unpolluted atmosphere to breathe and through it all, now and then, was the uplifting influence of the true and good and beautiful in life.

Such ambivalence on the part of the early crusaders against child labor, coupled with a similar feeling among the population as a whole, that work in the open air was good for children, that it is a safe place for children to learn the value of work and to earn money for extras or the necessities of life, resulted in the exemption of agriculture from the first federal child labor law.

Not until 1948, a full decade later, was work in agriculture included under the protection of the child labor law. And then children were prohibited from working only during the hours school was in session in the school district in which they lived. This meant that for much of the day and during summer vacations children were not prevented from work. And, there was no protection for the pre-school age child.

Efforts were made to strengthen child labor laws related to agriculture for more than twenty-five years. Finally, in 1974 child labor on the farm was prohibited to all children under the age of twelve at any time, except where the work was on the child's own family farm. However, tremendous pressure was exerted by farmers and their Congressmen from a few states and in 1977 Congress amended the new law to permit children ages ten and eleven to work from June 15 - October 15 under certain conditions.

As a result of these most recent changes it has become more difficult to enforce child labor laws. And, children are in the fields. By age twelve the migrant child has largely assumed an adult work role. Yet these child workers remain invisible to most of the nation and even to those most concerned with the welfare of children. So, today those who would attempt to protect children in the workplace face not only the continuing myths of the healthfulness of work in the out-of-doors, but the apathy of those who believe that child labor was ended when the children were removed from the mines and the factory sweatshops in the thirties.

Although I believe that the policies which have permitted the continued use of child labor in agriculture have been a factor in the continuation of the farm labor system as it presently exists, child labor is by no means the only policy question before us.

ROOTS OF THE MIGRATORY FARM LABOR SYSTEM

Migration and child labor in agriculture are not a recent phenomena. More than one hundred years ago there was the beginning of the early counterparts of the present seasonal and migrant farm labor force.

Slavery, as an institution, was abolished before the newly developing West could become dependent upon it. This left a labor vacuum which opened up the way for the development of new sources for farm labor. Indeed, in that post-Civil War period in the West, the seasonal worker bore a strong resemblance to the pre-Civil War farm labor, i.e., slaves and indentured workers, in that they were a captive labor force.

California found its own cheap, docile labor when the Chinese were forced out of the mines by white workers. They were replaced over the years by workers imported from Japan, India, the Phillipines and Mexico.

Demands for farm workers were increased by the opening of the transcontinental railroad and the introduction of refrigeration, which increased the potential for supplying fresh fruits and vegetables at great distances from the fields. Irrigation in the Southwest and the opening of new land in Florida to agricultural production created many new demands for seasonal workers on the farms.

Because of the power of influential rural Congressmen and a strong agricultural lobby, maintained by farmer organizations and agricultural industries, agriculture and farm labor has never benefitted from the social reforms which revolutionized other segments of the labor force over the past thirty years or so.

In the period since World War II considerable technology has been introduced into agriculture. Total mechanization of some crops, such as cotton, ended hundreds of thousands of seasonal jobs in agriculture in the 1950s. Mechanization of the planting and cultivation phases and the use of herbicides to control weed growth has further decreased the need for hired farm workers.

Although many farm jobs have disappeared the migrant farm worker has not. There was a considerable decrease in the number of workers in the 1950s and 1960s, but the number has become stabilized in the 1970s. It is anticipated, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, that there will be a gradual increase in the use of hired farm workers in the future to replace family workers who are leaving agriculture.

IMPACT OF MIGRANCY ON FAMILIES

Migrant farm labor is among the lowest paid work group in our nation. Low wages combined with unpredictable, seasonal employment further reduces annual incomes to below the poverty level. Therefore, children of migrant farm workers experience all the problems of the poor--under-nutrition, substandard housing, inadequate medical and health care. And, in addition there is their uprootedness caused by frequent moves from harvest to harvest.

Robert Coles, author of Children of Crisis, has said that migrant children "present us with a special and awful problem even when compared to other underprivileged groups." In addition to the problems of poverty, Coles points out that "constant mobility, constant moving and more moving, damages the physical and mental health of children in special ways. They are uprooted, such as even the extremely poor of other countries are not." Coles goes on to say that "I do not believe that the human body and the human mind were made to sustain the stresses migrants must face--worse stresses, I must say, than any I have seen anywhere in the world and utterly unrecognized by most of us."[1]

It is not uncommon for the entire family to work in the field, packing sheds or processing plants. Children, not in the fields, are often left to care for infants and children, either in the camp, or in a car parked near the place of work.

Migration and child labor are principal causes of interrupted education. Historically the migrant child has been seen as not doing well in school. Earliest studies showed that parents generally had limited education. Subsequent generations have done well to remain in school much beyond the sixth grade.

SERVICES FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

Sixty years ago church women in New Jersey took babies from under the oyster packing shelves where they lay, salt water dripping down on them, and cared for them while their mothers shucked oysters. This became the first day care center for migrant children. For almost half a century Churches and others in the private sector were the primary source of help for migrant families. Day care centers, summer schools, literacy education, health clinics, recreation and friendship were provided by thousands of community volunteers throughout the United States.

Fifteen years ago migrant children and their families were generally unserved by most of the social welfare, education and public health agencies of this nation. This began to change somewhat with the passage in 1962 of the Migrant Health Act, the first of a number of migrant programs to be implemented over the next decade. Farm worker housing, child care, education and other protective labor legislation was provided for by legislation during the periods of the War on Poverty and the Great Society.

The price tags on these programs have, for the most part, been modest by usual government project standards. After eighteen years the Migrant Health Program has risen from a starting budget of about $3,000,000 to about $35,000,000. Education for migrant children began with a budget of under $10,000,000 and now has close to $300 million. Migrant children have also been declared eligible for a variety of food and nutrition programs such as school lunch and Women and Infant and Childrens Nutrition Program (WIC).

With this kind of attention it would seen that there should be no need to be here this weekend to discuss public policy. The migrant child seems to have fared well and come a long way. Can there be any doubt that we have changed public policy from one of total neglect to one of comprehensive child and family services? It may look that way, but on close examination we find that at least fifty percent of the children are not getting any of the services to which they are entitled under special pieces of legislation. And, almost none are receiving the health and welfare services to which his birthright entitles him.

Why Children Are Not Receiving Services

There are several basic reasons or problems why children are not receiving the services to which they are entitled.

1. Representatives of state and local governments often operate on a policy of providing emergency services to transient persons and so are not geared to fluctuations in needy populations. Where funds are limited the year-round resident is served first.

2. A migrant population, especially when on the season, has little access to policy and decision makers in the communities through which they pass.

3. Federal programs have become politicized. The migrant education program, in particular, has lent itself to vigorous lobbying by state officials because of the provision in the legislation to fund states on the basis of the number of children they identify as eligible for service. Therefore there has been a constant broadening of the definition of a migrant child so as to encompass a much wider gorup of children than those who work in the fields. As a result it is possible to find programs which appear to be serving resident rural poor and few, if any, real migrants. It has always been easier to serve the resident seasonal farm worker than the migrant. Although there are safeguards against this happening, some rural communities appear to be using migrant education programs as a source of help for all the poor and others experiencing learning problems.

   Day care and migrant health programs, by definition, can serve both seasonal non-migratory and migratory farmworker children. Only Headstart has retained emphasis on working with the true migrant, i.e., the child who continues to migrate.

4. Although the total funds available each year to provide services for migrant children total more than a half billion dollars, the reality is that this averages out to less than $50 per person. With good day care services costing upwards of $3,000 per child on an annual basis, we can readily see that the funds available are totally

inadequate to serve the needs of the entire eligible population.

5. Most migrant child serving programs were instituted without proper planning for the most appropriate attack on the problem.

6. Undocumented and refugee populations are adding new dimensions to the migrant child picture. In addition to the traditional southern Black, the Chicano, the Puerto Rican and the poor white children, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Haitians, Cubans, Canadian Indians and a variety of Hispanic groups are appearing in significant numbers in the migrant streams.

What Has Been Accomplished in the Past Fifteen Years?

Three years ago I carried out a seven month study of community services for migrant children. During that time I went into farm labor camps in several states, observed all types of community programs, and talked with farm workers, children and service providers. I would like to read my conclusions to you.

> In the summer of 1977 there was much that had not changed for migrant farmworker families.
>
> Migrant children do not live in radically different circumstances than they did fifteen years ago before there were federal programs. Uprooting of families numerous times during an annual cycle continues. Families still live in abject poverty, crowded, at best, into airless concrete block structures, reminiscent of refugee camps.
>
> Children are more exposed than ever before to serious environmental hazards from pesticides, motorized machinery and vehicles. Labor camps are still frequently placed adjacent to harvest fields, packing sheds and processing plants. While child labor laws have been strengthened, lax enforcement still permits young children to work in the fields. Near peonage conditions exist for those who depend on unscrupulous and unregulated crew leaders for their transportation, housing and employment.
>
> While specially targeted services have become increasingly available, public welfare services, in general, remain equally as inaccessible as before. Medicare and Aid to Families with Dependent Children

and other programs such as foster care remain beyond their reach.

Even though federally funded programs have not provided the impact on migrant child needs which we had hoped for, to abandon the concept of federal aid offers no solution. Neither does the continuous expansion of current service models without adequate assessment of effectiveness. Migrant children will continue to require special attention as long as farmworkers cannot be assured of an annual income and other living and working conditions sufficient to provide an adequate standard of living.

To provide the needed protection and care, services must be organized into a rational system at the federal level which will facilitate coordination and consolidation at the local level.

New rationales must be developed for services based on actual needs of the child. Current models of education and day care which are based on traditional day care models and school day schedules simply do not satisfy the need for adult protection and care over periods as long as eighteen hours a day when parents are working.

In recent years we have come to rely increasingly on the Federal government alone to solve the problems of society. At the same time we have abdicated to technicians the traditional creative role of the voluntary agency. We believe that the cause of migrant children transcends the purview of public and private interests. What is needed is the mobilization of the unique resources of the voluntary section in effecting solutions to the problems of the migrant child.

Although America's migrant farmworkers are a vital link in the world's food chain, the nation remains largely unaware and unmoved by the human suffering entailed in the harvest of foods for our tables. Neither is there any indication of serious intent on the part of government or the agricultural industry to radically change the working conditions in the farm labor system as they have existed for decades.

While as a nation we have taken up the cause of human rights around the world, at home we continue

> to deny hundreds of thousands of children of migrant farmworkers their rights to such basics as adequate nutrition, medical care and education and to their very childhood by condoning the continued use of child labor in agriculture.[2]

THE SYMPOSIUM

This Symposium is a direct result of that conclusion. It seemed to us at the National Organization for Migrant Children that we ought to at least begin a dialogue about alternative approaches to dealing with the migrant farm labor system.

It is our hope that this weekend will begin to shape a framework for public policies which will work in the interest of children and not against them. We know the task is not an easy one.

The migrant farm population will continue to present this nation with largely unresolved social and economic problems until some major changes are made. The task before us in this Symposium is to explore ways to develop socially acceptable and economically feasible approaches to employment of farm labor.

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1. Coles, Robert. The Migrant Subculture. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, United States Senate, July 28, 1969.
2. Stockburger, Cassandra. Status Report on Community Services for Children of Migrant Agricultural Workers, National Organization for Migrant Children, New York, 1977.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR NEEDS IN THE 1980s

Leslie Whitener Smith
and
Robert Coltrane

INTRODUCTION

Changes in the structure of American agriculture during the past few decades have had important effects on labor use and the composition of the farm work force. This paper briefly examines historic and current trends in farm employment in the United States, focusing on the numbers and characteristics of

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hired farmworkers and migratory labor. Factors affecting the size and composition of the farm labor force are identified, and the likelihood of farm employment trends of the 1970s continuing into the 1980s is examined. Policy and program implications for workers and farm operators are also discussed.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR: PAST AND CURRENT LEVELS

The agricultural labor force in the United States is comprised of four groups of workers: (1) farm operators and unpaid family members, (2) domestic hired farm labor, (3) foreign nationals brought into the country under the provisions of the H-2 Foreign Worker Certification Program, and (4) undocumented aliens employed in agricultural work. Each group is examined in an attempt to assess their contribution to farm labor supply.

Farm Operators and Family Members

Despite record numbers of farm consolidations in recent decades, the American farm is still predominantly a family operation. The number of family workers has consistently declined since around the turn of the century, falling from 10.2 million workers in 1910 to 2.5 million in 1979. Yet despite this decline, farm operators and their families still comprised about two-thirds of all persons employed on farms in 1979 (table 1).

The decrease in family farm employment has been due largely to changes in the structure of agriculture and subsequent declines in the number of farms. After the collapse of the plantation system in the late 1800s, improved farm production techniques and technological developments in transportation and marketing resulted in higher productivity levels, lower production costs, and higher farm income. These economic changes encouraged a moved from subsistence farming to commercial farming; however, they also led to farm enlargement, increased mechanization and commodity specialization...moves which had serious implications for some farm families. As Holt (1979:143) notes:

> The result for the farming industry as a whole... was that productive capacity increased more rapidly than demand for farm products, reducing the prices of commodities. The smallest and most inefficient units were forced out of business, no longer able to provide an adequate income for a farm family. The land used by those units was absorbed by units that were expanding or it reverted

to less intensive uses. The labor forced out of farming was replaced by capital investment on the expanding units. The total labor input in agriculture declined drastically as millions of farm families and hired farmworkers could no longer earn a living in agriculture.

Between 1940 and 1974, the number of farms declined by nearly 4 million. The Census of Agriculture reported 6.1 million farms in 1940 and 2.3 million in 1974, and the number is expected to decline to around 1.8 million by the year 2000 (Lin et al., 1980). The projected decline in the number of farms will result in further reductions in the number of family workers.

Historical trends show that as the number of farms decline, average farm size increases. Average farm size increased from 175 acres in 1940 to 440 acres in 1974, largely as a result of the decline in the number of farms under 500 acres. By the year 2000, the largest 1 percent of the farms is expected to account for about half of all farm production (Lin et al., 1980). Lin et al. (1980) and Schertz (1979) point out that the current trend toward fewer but larger farms is due to many factors, including technology development, economies of scale, tax laws, price instability, differences in operator's managerial ability, capital requirements, credit availability, foreign trade arrangements, and government programs and regulations.

Hired Farmworkers

The changing structure of agriculture has altered the composition of the farm labor force. While farm family workers still provide the major portion of labor used in agriculture, hired workers have gradually replaced family workers over the last three decades. In 1950, hired workers comprised about 23 percent of annual average employment, but by 1979 the proportion had increased to 34 percent.[1] Furthermore, the rate of substitution accelerated slightly in the last decade. In the 20 years between 1950 and 1970, hired employment as a percentage of all farm employment increased from 23 to 26 percent. However, in the 9 years between 1970 and 1979, the proportion increased from 26 to 34 percent (table 1).

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1. The annual average employment of hired farmworkers is the average number of persons employed at any time during the year.

Table 1--Total, Family, and Hired Employment on Farms, Selected Years, 1910-1979

Year	Annual Average Farm employment 1/			Percentage Hired	Total Hired Farm Work Force 2/
	Total	Family	Hired		
	Thousands			Percent	Thousands
1910	13,555	10,174	3,381	25	NA
1920	13,432	10,041	3,391	25	NA
1930	12,497	9,307	3,190	26	NA
1940	10,979	8,300	2,679	24	NA
1950	9,926	7,597	2,329	23	4,342
1955	8,381	6,345	2,036	24	3/ 3,292
1960	7,057	5,172	1,885	27	3,693
1965	5,610	4,128	1,485	26	3,128
1970	4,523	3,348	1,174	26	2,488
1971	4,436	3,275	1,161	26	2,550
1972	4,373	3,228	1,146	26	2,809
1973	4,337	3,169	1,168	27	2,671
1974	4,389	3,074	1,314	30	2,737
1975	4,342	3,025	1,317	30	2,638
1976	4,374	2,997	1,377	31	2,767
1977	4,152	2,856	1,296	31	2,730
1978	3,937	2,681	1,256	32	NA
1979	3,774	2,501	1,273	34	2,652

NA=Not available

1/ Average number of persons employed at any one time.
2/ Total number of persons employed at any time during the year.
3/ No survey conducted in 1955; average of estimates for 1954 and 1956.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economics and Statistics Service.

Although hired workers have replaced some family workers in recent decades, the total number of hired farmworkers employed during the year has decreased by almost 40 percent, falling from a high of 4.3 million in 1950 to about 2.7 million in 1979 (table 1).[2] Most of the losses occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, during the 1970s the number of workers appears to have stabilized at around 2.6 to 2.7 million annually.

Similar trends were observed for migrant farmworkers. Between 1949 and 1979, the number of migrants dropped from 422,000 to 217,000, a decrease of almost 50 percent. While the numbers fluctuated greatly in the 1950s and 1960s, they have tended to stabilize at around 200,000 annually during the last decade (USDA, 1979).

The decline in the numbers of hired farmworkers was largely due to the adoption of new production and marketing technology on farms, including labor-reducing machines and higher-yielding crops and livestock. The shift to larger farms and crop specialization provided the opportunity for mechanization and adoption of other labor productivity enhancing technology.

In response to the decline in employment opportunities in agriculture, Federal programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act were developed in the 1960s to provide occupational training, job development, and comprehensive supportive services to help migrant families withdraw permanently from the migrant stream. These programs were supplemented with the Comprehensive Migrant Manpower Program of 1971 which was also designed to help migrant and seasonal farmworkers find alternative year-round employment in the nonfarm sector. Opponents of these programs charged that they encouraged workers needed for farm production to move out of agriculture. However, it is not clear to what extent the programs actually contributed to the reduction in the size of the farm labor force. Undoubtedly, economic factors affecting the number and size of farms played a more important role in the farm labor adjustment process.

During the 1970s, however, hired worker displacement slowed considerably. Large scale mechanization and technological innovations with large labor displacement potential leveled off during this decade. While planting and harvesting of many crops (including cotton and various grains) were widely mechanized during the 1950s and 1960s, large scale mechanization did not occur in the more labor-intensive fruit, nut and vegetable crops. In addition, in response to criticism of earlier farmworker programs, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973 was developed with dual farmworker objectives to help improve the lifestyle and skills of those wishing to remain in agriculture as well as to provide alternatives to agricultural labor. The available evidence suggests that experienced seasonal farmworkers are now more likely to combine nonfarm activities with their farm work, rather than "settling out" of the farm work force entirely (USDA, 1979).

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[2] The number of hired farmworkers cited here and in the remainder of the paper is based on the total number of persons employed at any time during the year.

Foreign Nationals and the H-2 Program

Legally imported foreign workers have historically comprised an important part of the farm labor force, but their importance, measured by numbers of workers, has diminished in recent years. Almost 5 million braceros worked on American farms between 1942 and 1964. The Bracero Program (P.L. 78) was the major legislative vehicle allowing entry of these workers. P.L. 78 authorized an official agreement between Mexico and the U.S. which was designed to meet the U.S. wartime need for supplemental farm labor and also legalize and protect Mexican workers from exploitation in this country. The number of imported workers reached a peak of 460,000 in 1956 and then declined to less than half that number by 1964. McElroy and Gavett (1965) concluded that this reduction was due to increases in farm mechanization, tightening of certification requirements, and more rigid enforcement of wage agreements and guarantees.

Since the termination of the Bracero Program in 1964, the Immigration and Naturalization Act (P.L. 82-414) has been the major mechanism for importing foreign agricultural workers. This Act authorizes the U.S. Department of Labor to administer the Foreign Labor Certification Program, often referred to as the H-2 Program, which permits employers to bring foreign workers into the United States to do temporary work. Before workers can be admitted, the Department of Labor must certify that there are insufficient domestic workers available who are willing and qualified to perform the work needed, and that the entry of the foreign workers will not adversely affect either the wage rate or working conditions of domestic workers doing similar work.

The number of H-2 workers entering this country to do farmwork has decreased over time, but has remained relatively stable over the last few years. Each year, 15,000 to 18,000 foreign workers are certified for agricultural employment and logging (USDL, 1980). In 1979, almost one-half of the workers harvested sugarcane in Florida; over one-third harvested apples in the Eastern States, and the remainder were engaged in sheepherding in the Western States and logging in the Northeastern States.

The H-2 workers have little impact on the overall U.S. farm labor market, but they do have a significant impact on some areas, particularly sugar production in Florida and apple production in the Eastern States. The H-2 workers accounted for less than 1 percent of all hired workers in 1979. In comparison, at the height of the Bracero Program in 1956, foreign workers comprised about 13 percent of hired farmworkers.

The H-2 Program is the focal point of a continuing controversy between the Department of Labor and growers requesting worker certification. With the exception of sugarcane cutters, the Department of Labor maintains that there are sufficient migrant and local workers available to meet the demand of growers, while the growers maintain that there are not enough workers available at peak labor demand periods. The controversy is likely to continue and it may spread to include producers of other commodities. In the last year or two, the Department of Labor has received new requests for worker certification from growers producing several commodities (i.e., citrus and tobacco) in addition to apples, sugarcane and sheep. The Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy3 is currently evaluating the H-2 Program to determine if it is sufficiently flexible to respond to the needs of both employers and workers.

Undocumented Workers

Because of their numbers, undocumented workers have a much greater impact on the U.S. farm labor market than do legally admitted foreign workers. However, it is impossible to make reliable estimates of the number of illegals in the country or the number working in agriculture because of the clandestine nature of their entry into the United States. Each year as many as 700,000 illegal aliens are apprehended and estimates of the size of the population currently living in the United States range from 4 to 12 million (Siegel et al., 1980). While it is common knowledge that large numbers of undocumented workers are employed in agriculture their exact numbers are unknown. Slightly over 100,000 undocumented aliens are apprehended each year in agriculture; but apprehension figures are not accurate indicators of the number working in agriculture. Rochin (1978) has suggested that as

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3. This is a joint Presidential/Congressional Commission created in 1979 under Public Law 95-412 to examine and evaluate the immigration laws of the United States.

many as 385,000 undocumented workers may be employed annually in agriculture. The available information suggests that these workers are concentrated in States in the Southwest and along the Pacific Coast, but some workers are scattered throughout the Nation (Rochin, 1978).

Most of the information available on undocumented workers in the United States is based on personal testimonies, anecdotal data and apprehension statistics. It is clear that additional quantitative information is needed to more accurately estimate the impact of illegal workers on the farm labor market, and to provide the foundation for policy regarding undocumented workers.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIRED FARMWORKERS

Agriculture in America has been primarily a family endeavor, but hired farmworkers have made a significant contribution. Over time, the character of the hired farm working force has changed considerably. During the Colonial period, farmworkers were comprised largely of Indians, convicts, indentured servants from England, and slaves from Africa. In the 1800s, agriculture provided opportunities for employment to a large number of immigrants from Germany, Ireland and Scandinavia. Many of these immigrants settled in the Northeast and North Central States. In the Southwest, the hired farm labor force has been comprised of a succession of minority groups, starting with the Chinese and followed by Japanese, Filipinos, and Mexicans. Mexican workers have historically been employed in the United States in a cyclical fashion depending on the economic situation and supply of available domestic labor (Fulton, 1975).

Although demographic characteristics of hired farmworkers have changed, the tendency for them to be at the bottom of the income scale and to generally have few economic opportunities has persisted to the present day. The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the contemporary hired farm labor force are reviewed below. An examination of these attributes is important for understanding the farm labor supply and for assessing the problems and needs of hired farmworkers as a group.

Demographic Characteristics

In 1979, data collected by the Current Population Survey (CPS) Hired Farm Working Force Survey show that there were approximately 2.7 million persons 14 years of age and older in the United States who worked on farms for cash wages or salary at some time during the year (USDA, 1979).[4] These workers were predominantly young, White, and male. The majority lived off the farm and more workers resided in the South than in any other region. Only two of every five hired farmworkers were heads of household; most were spouses and other family members.

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[4] See Rowe (1979) for additional information on sampling procedures, survey design, and statistical reliability of these data.

Specifically:

- 57 percent of hired farmworkers were under 25 years of age; one-fourth were between 14 and 17 years.
- 22 percent were female.
- 75 percent were White.
- 4 out of 10 farmworkers lived in the South.
- the majority (83 percent) lived off the farm.

Contrary to popular image, figure 1 shows that racial/ ethnic minorities do not comprise the major portion of the hired farm work force. In 1979, 75 percent were White, 12 percent were Hispanic and 13 percent were Blacks and Others.[5] However, the proportion of minority farmworkers varied by region. About 53 percent of the farmworkers in California, Nevada, and Arizona are Hispanic and about 34 percent of the workers in eight Southern states (Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida) were Blacks and Others. The majority of farmworkers in other regions were White.

While the minority groups account for a relatively small number of hired farmworkers, minorities especially Hispanics, have stronger ties to agriculture than Whites. Minority workers were more likely to cite hired farmwork as their principal economic activity during 1979, and for the large majority, hired farmwork was their only employment. Furthermore, data presented in figure 2 show that White workers are more likely than Hispanics and Blacks and Others to move out of hired farmwork as they grow older. This suggests that for Whites, farmwork serves more as an entry level job into the labor force and/or a supplemental job, while minority workers are more likely to depend on agriculture as their major source of support.

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[5] Hispanic refers to all those who identified themselves as Mexican American, Chicano, Mexican, Mexicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Hispanic. White refers to White persons other than those of Hispanic origin. Blacks and Others include Blacks, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and others not of Hispanic origin. For simplicity of presentation, these mutually exclusive groups are termed Hispanic, White, and Blacks and Others.

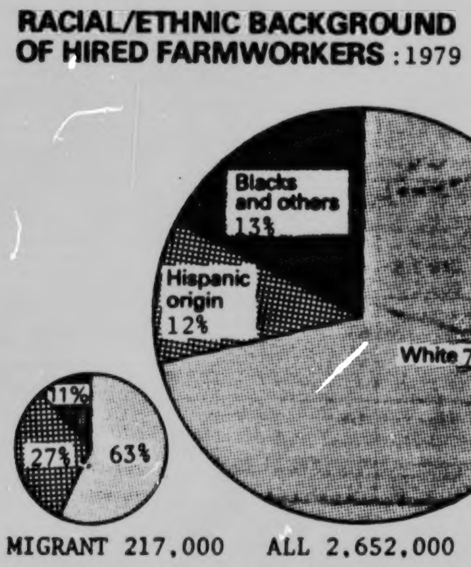


Figure 1

Source: USDA, 1979.

HIRED FARMWORKERS, 1977

By Age, Sex, and Racial/Ethnic Group

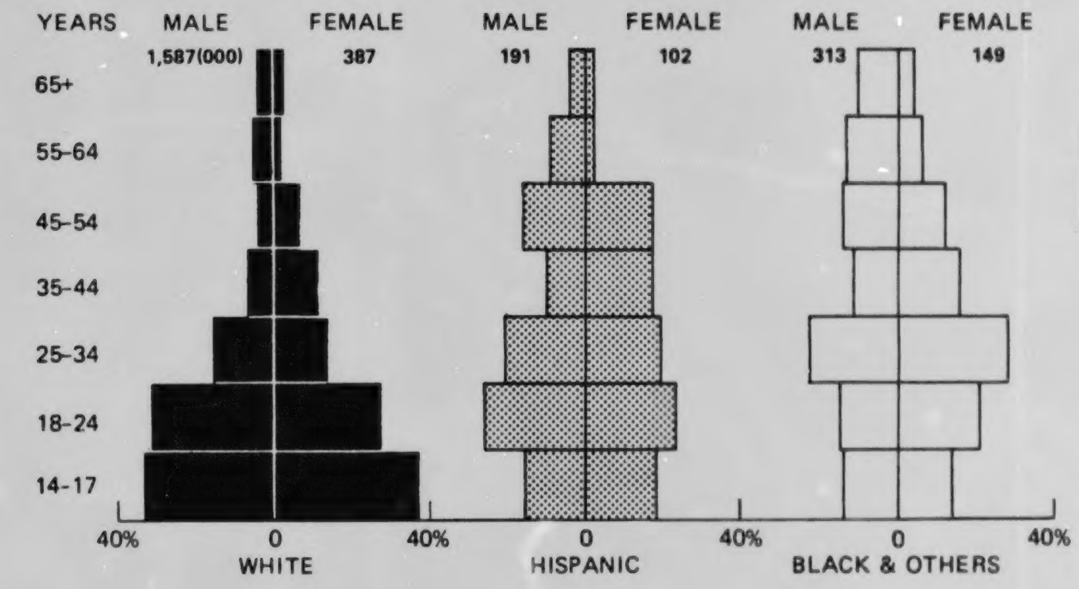


Figure 2

Source: USDA, 1979.

The greater dependence on agriculture for minority workers may be due to their lower levels of education and the lack of viable alternatives to farmwork. Many hired farm jobs require low skills and training and workers with lower educational attainment compete effectively for these jobs.

Hired farmworkers in general have lower educational levels than most other occupational groups. In 1979, hired workers 25 years of age and older had a median educational level of 10.4 years compared to 12.5 years for the U.S. population 25 years and over. However, educational attainment was even lower for minority farmworkers. Hispanic farmworkers had a median education of only 5.4 years. Blacks and Others had only a slightly higher level, with 7.7 years of schooling. In comparison, Whites had a median 12.3 years of school completed.

Employment Characteristics

The majority of farmworkers are employed on a casual (less than 25 days) or seasonal (25 to 149 days) basis (figure 3). Almost three-fourths of the workers worked for less than 150 days during 1979. Many of the casual and seasonal workers are students and housewives who work only a few weeks a year either during harvest or some other peak labor demand period. Only 16 percent of all hired farmworkers worked on a year-round basis for 250 days or more; another 13 percent worked from 150 to 249 days during the year. However, the workers working 150 days or more accounted for 73 percent of the total days of farmwork.

Additional data illustrate the weak labor force attachment of most hired farmworkers:

-- Almost half (47 percent) of all farmworkers are not in the labor force most of the year; over three-fourths of these workers are students.

-- Less than one-third cited hired farmwork as their principal activity during the year.

-- About 34 percent of all workers did less than 25 days of farmwork during the year.

-- About 44 percent of all workers have been employed in farmwork for 3 years or less.

The variation in duration of employment and labor force attachment cause annual earnings to vary considerably among workers (table 2). In 1979, all hired farmworkers averaged

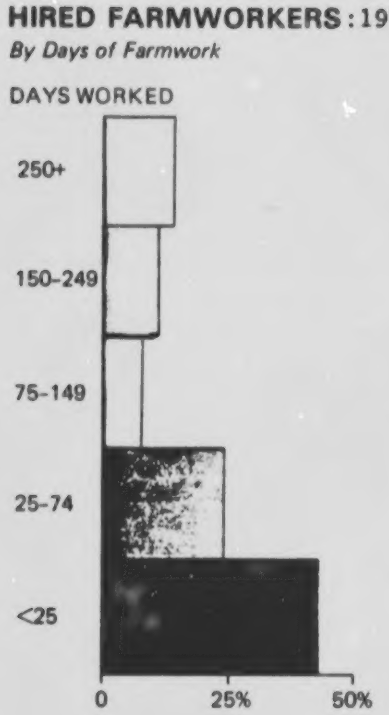


Figure 3

Source: USDA, 1979.

Table 2--Hired farmworkers: Average annual earnings by primary employment status, 1979

Primary Employment status 1/	Total				With farm work only		With both farm and nonfarm work		
	Workers		Total annual earnings	Annual farm earnings	Workers	Annual farm earnings	Workers	Total Annual earnings	Annual farm earnings
	Number	Percentage Distribution							
	Thou.	Percent	--Dollars--		Thou.	Dollars	Thou.	--Dollars--	
In Labor Force	1,393	53	6,602	3,789	732	5,573	661	7,740	1,813
Hired farmwork	759	29	6,089	5,843	656	6,042	103	6,388	4,579
Other farmwork 2/	90	3	3,406	1,879	54	1,580	36	3/	3/
Nonfarm work	496	19	8,348	1,210	—	—	496	8,348	1,210
Unemployed	48	2	3/	3/	22	3/	26	3/	3/
Not in Labor Force	1,259	47	1,510	956	792	1,029	467	2,327	834
Keeping house	176	7	1,215	890	139	896	37	3/	3/
Attending school	956	36	1,434	839	558	917	397	2,162	729
Other	127	5	2,484	1,935	95	1,885	32	3/	3/
All hired farmworkers	2,652	100	4,185	2,444	1,524	3,212	1,128	5,501	1,408
All migrant farmworkers	217	—	4,852	2,277	98	3,257	120	6,155	1,476

Number of workers may not add to totals due to rounding.

—=Not available

1/Refers to respondent's major or chief activity during the year.

2/Includes operating a farm and unpaid family labor.

3/Averages not shown where base is less than 50,000

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, The Hired Farm Working Force Survey of 1979, Economics and Statistics Service.

$4,185 in annual earnings from all farm and nonfarm sources, with over half of the earnings ($2,444) from farmwork. Persons citing nonfarm employment as their primary activity earned $8,348 with only about 15 percent ($1,210) from farmwork. Those citing hired farmwork as their primary activity earned less. This group averaged $6,089 in total earnings with almost 96 percent derived from farm employment. Housewives and students received the lowest total and farm earnings of any group. Holt (1979:147) summarizes the reasons earnings from hired farmwork are low:

> Hired farmworkers' earnings are kept low by a potentially large supply of unskilled workers, the highly competitive structure of an industry with many small producer employers, and the lack of organization and bargaining power among workers. On the other hand, agricultural employment is one of the last remaining major employment opportunities for youth, low productivity rural workers, and persons unwilling or unable to cope with the regimen and discipline imposed by a highly industrialized society.

Migrant Farmworkers

Migrant farmworkers provide a necessary supplement to local labor supplies during planting and harvesting seasons when the demand for labor sometimes exceeds the supply of farmworkers living in a local area. But contrary to some popular impressions, the hired farm labor force is not dominated by migrants. In 1979, there were 217,000 migrant farmworkers. Migrant farmworkers are defined as those persons who leave their home county, stay overnight and do farmwork for cash wages or salary. They comprised only 8 percent of the 217 million persons doing hired farmwork in 1979. The proportion of the hired farm work force that are migrants has remained fairly constant in the 1970s, but it is down from the 10-to-14 percent range common to the 1960s.

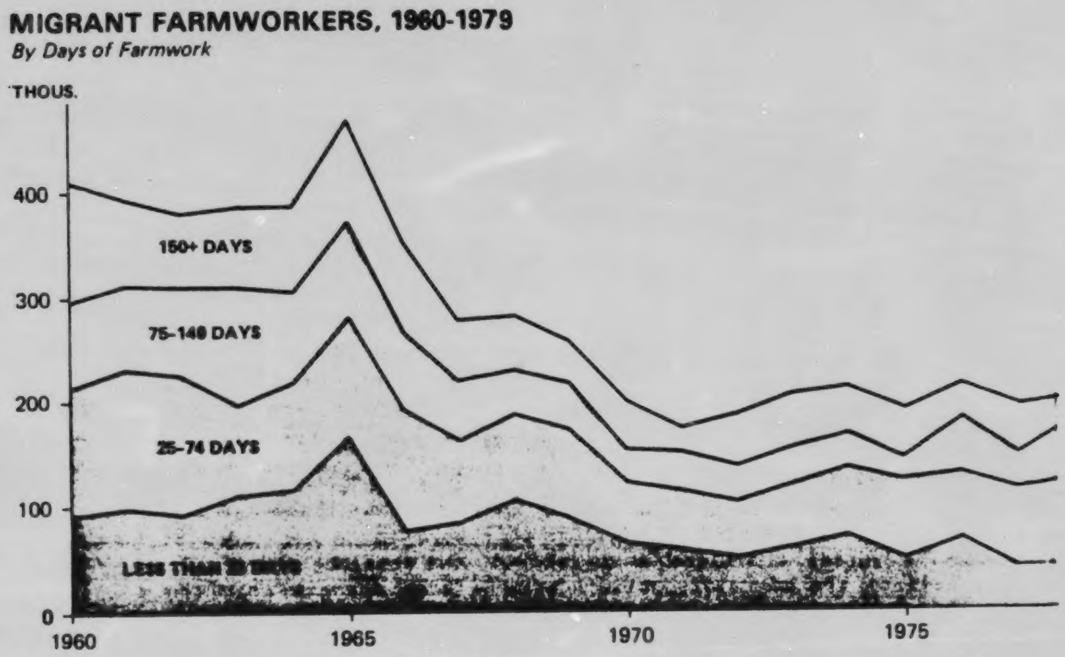
Since 1960, the number of migratory workers has decreased by almost 50 percent, falling from about 400,000 in 1960 to 217,000 in 1979 (figure 4). However, the decline has not been continuous from year to year. Between 1964 and 1965, the number of migrants increased sharply to 466,000 workers. This increase represented a temporary adjustment to the termination of the Bracero Program as farmers replaced foreign workers with domestic labor. Between 1965 and 1970 the number has remained relatively stable at around 200,000.

As a group, migrant workers differ from other hired farmworkers in some important basic characteristics:

- Migrants are more likely to be members of minority groups than non-migrants. In 1979, about 63 percent of the migrants were White, 27 percent were Hispanics, and 11 percent were Blacks and Others. In contrast nonmigrant workers were 76 percent White, 11 percent Hispanic, and 13 percent Black and Others (see figure 1).
- Migrants earned an average of $4,852 in annual earnings, with $2,277 coming from farmwork; nonmigrants earned $4,126 with $2,459 coming from farmwork.
- Migrants were more likely to combine nonfarm work with farmwork. About 55 percent of the migrants did both farm and nonfarm work compared with only 41 percent of the nonmigrants.
- Migrants appear to be more economically dependent on nonfarm earnings than nonmigratory workers. Over half of their total earnings came from nonfarm work while only 40 percent of nonmigrants' total earnings came from nonfarm activities.
- Some migrants travel considerable distances to do farmwork. Almost one-third were employed in farm jobs that were over 500 miles from their homes, while about 15 percent traveled distances of 1,000 or more miles. Hispanics tended to travel longer distances than Whites, who were more likely to be short-distance migrants.

In other characteristics, however, migrants are about the same as nonmigrants:

- Nearly 55 percent were less than 25 years of age; 22 percent were between 14 and 17 years old.
- Almost one-third were students and out of the labor force most of the year.
- 76 percent were males.
- 49 percent were household heads.
- 4 out of 10 resided in the South at the time of the survey, and over half of these were Hispanics or Blacks and Others.



MIGRANT FARMWORKERS, 1960-1979

By Days of Farmwork

Figure 4

Source: USDA, 1979.

Hired Farmworker Families

Some farmworker issues are centered on economic conditions and needs of the farmworker's family. The socioeconomic characteristics of farmworker families are diverse, ranging from the low-income family where the head of household is a farmworker and the family's only source of income is from hired farmwork, to the high-income family where the farmworker is a spouse, son, or daughter working only a few days in the summer.

In a recent study, Smith and Rowe (1978) developed a socioeconomic profile of the approximately 2 million families in the United States in 1975 that contained at least one hired farmworker. That study shows that farmworker families, as a group, are one of the most economically disadvantaged groups in the Nation. The 1975 median family income was $8,522, about 72 percent of the median income for all U.S. families. However, when family income is examined in relation to family size, farmworkers are even worse off than income levels alone suggest. Farmworker families tend to be much larger than other families at all income levels. This places a greater than average per capita demand on family income. For example, of those farmworker families receiving incomes below $5,000, the majority (54 percent) had at least three members and almost one fifth contained six members or more. In contrast, the majority of all U.S. families with incomes below $5,000 contained only one or two members.

The racial/ethnic composition of farmworker families is about the same as the composition of other families. About three-fourths of the families were White, 8 percent were Hispanic, and 15 percent were Blacks and Others in 1975. The minority farmworker families in general were much more economically disadvantaged than White families. White farmworker families received a median family income of over $10,000, compared with $5,939 for Hispanics and $4,339 for Black and Other families. Also, only 22 percent of the White families had six or more members compared with 45 percent of Hispanic and 31 percent of Black and Other families. In addition, heads of minority farmworker families, whether they did farmwork or not, completed fewer years of schooling than White family heads. Lower education levels of minority heads tend to restrict opportunities to move into higher paying jobs and thereby limit opportunities to improve the family's economic status.

The largest proportion (39 percent) of farmworker families were located in the South and, in general, these families had lower incomes than families in other regions. The median family income for farmworker families in the South was $5,912 compared with $9,438 in the West and over $10,000 in the Northeast and North Central regions. Farmworker income problems in the South are further complicated due to poor accessability to public services, including health care, education, vocational training, housing, and welfare programs (U.S. Congress, 1977; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1977). In addition, about 40 percent of the farmworker families in this region are minority families.

Hired farmworker families included 8.2 million family members, averaging 4.1 members per family. A large proportion of these were dependents. About 26 percent were children under the age of 14 years; another 3 percent were 65 years of age and over. Almost two-thirds of the dependents were minority families, although minority families comprised only 23 percent of all farmworker families.

Only about half of the 2 million hired farmworker families were headed by a person who did farmwork at some time during the year. The remaining families contained a family member other than the head who did farmwork. While these two groups were about equally represented among farmworker families, the characteristics of each group differed significantly.

Families headed by a farmworker are more economically disadvantaged than farmworker families headed by a nonfarm worker. About 37 percent of the farmworker headed families had income of less than $5,000, compared with only 14 percent of other families. The median family income for the families headed by a farmworker was $6,250, compared to over $10,000 for families in which the farmworker was not the household head. A large part of the family earnings for the farmworker-headed families were from relatively low-paying farm jobs held by the head of household. In contrast, most farmworkers who were not heads were not responsible for the major share of family support. A large proportion of these workers were students and housewives who did farmwork for a few weeks during the year. In most cases, the bulk of their family income came from the earnings of the family head who was employed in nonfarm activities, or came from other sources. For example, in 1975, farmworkers who were not family heads earned an average of $1,300 from all sources; and over one-half worked less than 25 days at farmwork. On the other hand, farmworker heads averaged $4,500 in annual earnings with over half derived from farmwork.

In 1975, 143,000, or 7 percent of all farmworker families had at least one member who did migratory farmwork. The information on characteristics of migrant families is limited but the data that are available suggest that family size and income did not differ significantly from all hired farmworker families. About 25 percent received incomes of less than $5,000 They had a median family income of $8,607 and averaged 3.7 members per family, compared to $8,522 and 4.1 members per family for all hired farmworker families.

Migrant families included about 550,000 household members. Approximately 25 percent of these members were children under the age of 14 years. However, the data do not show the proportion of children who travel with their parents or other family members in the migrant stream, or what proportion actually do farmwork themselves during the year.

Summary

The socioeconomic characteristics of hired farmworkers and their families indicate there are two distinct groups of hired farmworkers. One group is comprised of those who are engaged in hired farmwork on a casual or seasonal basis and use their earnings from farmwork to supplement family income. They are generaly young and/or White, and the majority cite attending school or keeping house as their primary activity. Half of this group also does nonfarm work.

The second group consists of persons who are more dependent on hired farmwork for their livelihood and family support. They are employed in agriculture for longer periods during the year than the casual and seasonal group. They often cite hired farmwork as their principal activity, and for the large majority, farmwork is their only employment. When they do nonfarm work, it is usually only for short periods of time. In addition, the workers in this second group are older and are often household heads or spouses who have primary responsibility for their families' support. Thus, their earnings are probably the major contribution to family income. Finally, they are more likely to be members of racial/ethnic minorities, and their agricultural dependence is partially due to the lack of viable employment alternatives to farmwork.

FARM LABOR TRENDS IN THE 1980s

The statistics show dramatic changes in farm labor in the last three decades and definite employment trends emerging in the 1970s. Hired employment stabilized during the 1970s after years of decline, while farm family employment continued to decrease. These changes show what has happened, but what do they suggest for farm labor requirements in the 1980s?

There are a number of factors which together will determine farm labor use in the 1980s. These include technology development, changes in the structure of agriculture, farm programs, farmworker programs, immigration policy, relative prices of major farm inputs--especially energy, and legislative developments on collective bargaining for farmworkers. The many unknowns regarding future changes in these factors and in the interaction among these factors make attempts to estimate farm labor requirements in the 1980s a hazardous task.

However, there are two sets of USDA estimates which are useful in discussing farm labor trends in the 1980s. First, Lin et al. (1980) estimate that the number of farms will continue to decline and the size of farms will continue to increase to the year 2000. Second, a forthcoming publication on the capacity of American agriculture to produce in the 1980s concludes that the farm sector will have adequate capacity to produce in the 1980s (David et al., 1980). This conclusion is based on projections of agricultural productivity and farm output. Labor, as well as cropland, water, and manufactured inputs are not expected to be major constraints on farm production in the near future.

These two sets of projects suggest that the trend of substituting hired for farm family labor established in recent years should continue in the 1980s. The increase in proportion of total farm employment that is hired is likely to be small in any year, but the proportion should gradually increase in the 1980s. Factors that could change this trend are unexpected shifts in the demand for farm products and unexpected changes in relative prices of major agricultural inputs.

The characteristics of the hired farm working force suggest that enough potential workers should seek employment in agriculture to meet overall demand for farm workers. The hired farm labor market is highly atomistic. Although there are exceptions, the amount of hired labor required on a per farm basis is small and most farmwork requires little work experience, low skills and is of a seasonal nature. In 1979, nearly one-half of all farmworkers were teenagers, housewives and other persons who did farmwork on a temporary basis. Another 19 percent were primarily nonfarm workers who took farm employment on a part-time basis (USDA, 1979).

These remarks pertain to the general situation. Some exceptions to the general case could occur. The potential exists for periodic farm labor shortages in areas with concentrations of farms using large quantities of labor. During periods of peak labor demand, the need for labor frequently exceeds the local labor supply. In those situations, additional workers must be recruited outside the local community. Problems associated with recruitment or labor-management conflicts could lead to local labor shortages.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND DATA REQUIREMENTS

The data and analysis presented suggest several policy issues related to the welfare of the workers and their families. Public policy responses to hired farmworker issues have generally focused on problems related to stability of employment, levels and stability of wages, quality of work environment, and family well-being. Policy issues related to the welfare of farmworker families are inseparable from issues related to employment, wages, and the working environment because work and income conditions for the worker are so closely linked to a set of economic and social conditions impacting directly on the well-being of the family. We are referring here to relationships between well-being of the family and such socioeconomic conditions as housing, health, and education.

There is a set of farmworker characteristics that tend to define policy issues. These characteristics described in a previous section are summarized below:

-- Income of hired farmworkers is at or near the bottom of the income scale for all occupations.

-- Families tend to be larger than average, placing a greater than average per capita demand on family income.

-- Economic conditions are made worse for migrant families by the transient nature of migrant work.

-- Workers with few alternatives to farmwork must often find several short-term jobs during the year to earn even a minimal annual income. This may require migrant work.

-- The structure of agricultural employment has changed in recent decades with hired employment increasing relative to farm operator and farm family employment. This places a new set of labor-management responsibilities on farm operators and workplace responsibilities on the worker.

The characteristics of farmworkers suggest that there are two major groups which require different policy considerations. One group depends on farmwork for a significant part of their income. Many workers in this group also do nonfarm work, but farmwork is the group's central employment focus. The workers normally have low labor market skills, low levels of education, and seem to have little opportunity for employment in other than low-skilled, low-wage occupations in either agriculture or nonagricultural industries. Workers in the second group include persons who work on a casual or seasonal basis, usually as a means of supplementing individual or family income. These workers spend most of their time at nonfarm employment, attending school, keeping house or pursuing other non-labor market activities.

There is a set of policy issues and needs which relate to both groups of workers. Al farmworkers should receive employee benefits and workplace protections generally available to other workers in the economy. These include minimum wage guarantees, farm safety regulations, and such social benefits as workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance and social security. There have been significant increases in recent years in labor and safety law coverage for farmworkers, but the special exemption for agriculture based on size of operation still exists in most legislation (Erven, 1979). This basis for excluding workers from coverage should be reassessed.

It is not enough, however, to simply demonstrate that current policy on minimum wage or social security contributes to inequity in income or employment opportunities among workers. Policy makers are reluctant to change policy unless estimates of the impacts of proposed changes are provided. It is important to determine how increased coverage, in the case of minimum wage, for example, could affect the number of employed workers, duration of employment, earnings of workers, and income of farm operators. This type of analysis requires better information than is generally available. More will be said about the importance of data in policy determination later.

The primary target for farmworker policy should be that group that depends on farmwork for a significant part of family income mainly because they have few alternatives for other employment. What follows is a brief description of some issues focused on this group of workers.

Issues related to stability of employment and stability of farm earnings.

Annual earnings are determined by the wage rate and the duration of employment. In addition to low wages, much of hired farmwork is characterized by periods of employment lasting only a few days or weeks. In 1979, about 71 percent of the hired farm work force worked less than 150 days in agriculture. The year-round worker was the exception rather than the rule. Only 16 percent were employed 250 days or more on farms. Furthermore, many of these workers worked at several jobs during the year to piece together year-round employment (USDA, 1979). Income stability could be enhanced by greater stability in employment. Instability impacts directly on the well-being of farmworker families in terms of poor housing, inadequate health care and limited education.

Improving the stability of farm employment and farm wages will require changes in the way farm jobs are viewed by both the farm operator and the worker. Farm operators have traditionally had little incentive to improve the stability of farm employment. Workers are hired to do specific tasks and employment is frequently terminated as soon as the tasks are completed. This pattern of employment has evolved because of the seasonal nature of farmwork and because there has usually been an adequate supply of farmworkers available from either domestic or foreign sources.

The bulk of farm tasks are associated with planting and harvesting. The labor required to operate the farm between these periods of peak labor demand has been traditionally provided by family labor. There are, of course, exceptions to this pattern. Many livestock farms require year-round hired labor, but as noted earlier only 16 percent of all workers are employed year-round.

The structure of farming has changed significantly in recent decades, and this has altered the composition of the farm labor force. The change in mix of farm labor has important implications for farm operators and farm workers. As hired workers provide more of the labor used on farms, farm operators must assume more labor-management responsibilities if they are to compete for workers in the farm labor market. The better managers will improve their personnel management skills in order to minimize hiring and training costs. This includes improving skills related to recruiting; supervising, training, developing work plans, work assignments and employee benefit packages; understanding Federal, State and local employment, safety and health regulations; and labor relations and labor contract negotiations. Better personnel management on farms implies a reduction in labor turnover because farm managers would tend to organize work so that costs associated with recruiting and training would be minimized. This would improve both the stability of employment and income for farmworkers.

Contemporary personnel management encourages workers to take responsibility for their work assignments. This should result in greater labor productivity, greater attachment to the work force and higher quality work performance. This, of course, requires a greater commitment on the part of workers to do quality work.

An education effort is needed to improve the level of personnel management. Farm operators and farm managers need education and training on relevant labor laws and regulations, as well as training in principles of personnel management. This effort would require a national level program since there are about 900,000 farms employing hired farmworkers distributed across the nation.

National Farmworker Programs

There are currently eight Federal programs with special provisions for farmworkers (table 3). The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA), for example, authorizes the U.S. Department of Labor to provide educational opportunities, job training and placement, family counseling and child care, and other services to seasonal and migrant farmworkers. Other federal farmworker programs provide free or low cost health services to migrants and their families, support physically or mentally disabled farmworkers, provide funds to local school districts for the education of migrant children, enforce safety regulations for the transportation of farmworkers, provide employment services, provide loans and grants to farm operators for construction of on-farm housing for farmworkers, and enforce safety regulations of crew leaders and farm labor contractors. The budgets for these programs were approximately $400 million in 1979, nearly double the level in 1975. Despite increased funding, relatively little evaluation has been done on the continued need for or effectiveness of these programs. Additional research is needed to determine the impact of Federal farmworker programs on farmworkers, their families, farm operators, and the farm labor market.

Issues related to agricultural worker placement services

The agricultural placement services provided by the Federal-State Employment Services are frequently criticized as not being very effective in matching farmworkers to jobs. Some issues are: To what extent are State Employment Services serving the needs of employers and workers? What is the range of services needed for an effective placement service? Are there better alternatives to the Employment Service?

Table 3--Annual Budgets for Federal Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Programs, Fiscal Years 1975-1979

Programs [1] provided by:	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975
	Million Dollars				
A. Section 303, Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, 1973 [2]	95.3	111.0	63.8	75.2	63.2
B. Rehabilitation Act, 1973	1.5	1.5	0.6	1.5	0.7
C. Interstate Commerce Act, 1957	[3]	[3]	[3]	[3]	[3]
D. Public Health Act, 1962	34.5	34.5	30.0	25.0	23.8
E. Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1967	173.5	145.8	130.9	97.1	91.9
F.. Housing Act, 1949	71.0	17.5	17.5	17.5	17.5
Grants	38.0	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5
Loans	33.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
G. Wagner-Peyser Act, 1934	[3]	[3]	[3]	[3]	[3]
H. Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act, 1963	2.3	2.1	1.2	1.1	0.5
Total	378.1	312.4	244.0	217.4	197.6

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[1] The primary purpose of these programs is as follows: A) to provide training assistance; B) to support physically or mentally disabled farmworkers; C) to enforce safety regulations for transportation of farmworkers; D) to provide primary health care and supplemental services; E) to provide funds to local school districts for education of children of migrants workers; F) to make loans and grants to farm operators for construction of on-farm housing for farmworkers; G) to provide employment placement and related services; H) to enforce regulations of crew leaders and farm labor contractors.

[2] Budgets are reported by calendar year for this program.

[3] Not available

Source: The budget data are from unpublished sources in the respective Departments.

Issues related to impacts of technology development on farm employment.

Technology development in the form of labor-reducing machines, higher yielding crops and livestock, and chemicals which improve yields have had significant impacts on labor productivity in agriculture. In almost every case, the adoption of new technology has reduced labor input per unit of output. Adoption of new technology has been considered beneficial because it expanded output of agricultural commodities.

Although technology development has had significant effects on farm employment, employment impacts and employment objectives of public programs have not received much consideration in evaluations of impacts of technology. However, employment impact research as a part of the evaluative process of technology development could be a significant tool for improving employment and wage stability. For example, technology development has the potential for creating varieties of fruits and vegetables which could be harvested over longer periods of time, thus increasing the stability of farm employment (Glover, 1979).

Data Requirements

There is a need for better information for analysis of policy issues, legislation and regulations, and to assess the impact of legislation, technological developments and other social and economic changes on levels of employment and income of hired farmworkers. The only comprehensive data presently available on the supply of farmworkers and their households comes from a survey conducted by the Census Bureau as part of the December Current Population Survey (CPS). This survey, which is financed by the Economics and Statistics Service, USDA, was conducted annually until 1977. Since then it has been conducted biennially.

The Hired Farm Working Force Survey has shortcomings which limit its usefulness as a data source for analysis of policy issues. It provides national level data and multistate regional estimates of number of workers, duration of employment and some key worker and household characteristics for farmworker groups having special policy significance, such as migrants, Hispanics and youth. However, these data are inadequate for analysis of issues related to farm labor markets below the national level. For example, analysis of State level markets are often necessary for policy purposes because the demand for labor varies significantly from State to State, depending on the type and structure of agriculture. Farms in the Southwest and Pacific Coast States employ larger amounts of hired labor relative to family labor than do farms in Corn Belt and Southeast States. The State variations in hired labor use create different requirements for various State farm labor markets. Until State-level data are available, analyses of many issues will be incomplete and policies based on the analysis may not include elements important to the proper functioning of farm labor markets and to the well-being of farmworkers and their families.

Since the Hired Farm Working Force Survey is only a biennial supplement to the regular CPS, it is not feasible to change its sample design to yield needed farmworker data. Instead, the Economics and Statistics Service is testing a method of collectin hired farmworker data which would be statistically reliable at the State level. We have conducted a pilot test of a new hired farmworker household survey in four states--Florida, Nebraska, Ohio and Oregon. Data were collected by personal interview in late 1979 on duration and type of farm and nonfarm work, earnings, family income, migrant status, dependence of workers and families on farmwork for their livelihood, and demographic characteristics including age, race, ethnicity, education and family size.

We are currently analyzing the data collected in the 4-State pilot test. Although we are not yet ready to draw final conclusions on the test, preliminary results suggest that we have a solid design that will yield statistically reliable data at the State level for key farmworker variables.

This test will serve as a basis for planning an operational survey. The timing of the survey and the number of States included in the first survey will depend on budget constraints. If sufficient funds are available, we plan to conduct the first operational survey in 15 to 20 of the largest farm labor-using States in late 1981 or 1982. This survey, when fully operational, should provide data needed to analyze a broad range of policy issues relevant to farmworkers.

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COMMENTS ON PAPER "AGRICULTURAL LABOR NEEDS IN THE 1980s"

Robert D. Emerson

Leslie did a fine job of presenting the data that are availbele. The major source of data utilized is the *Hired Farm Working Force* series. This is a land-mine of data and certainly the main source of information available today on agricultural labor. One caveat I would state at the outset of my remarks on this paper is that we need to be careful in suggesting policy strictly for agricultural labor markets *per se*. Due to movement in and out of the labor force and between farm and nonfarm sectors, a much broader view than strictly occupational category is necessary for designing appropriate policy.

I am particularly intrigued at the noted stability of the number of hired farmworkers in the 1970s: 2.6-2.7 million. The 1979 data apparently support this constancy also. The other point of stability is the number of migratory workers,

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currently estimated to be 217,000. This represents eight percent of the hired agricultural work force. Although this is a relatively small percentage, migratory workers have received considerable public policy attention.

Leslie has presented mostly national data. This is not a criticism; these are the only available data. Nevertheless, there are important regional differences in agricultural labor. One would expect to see a different set of characteristics associated with labor in Florida than in Iowa which produces largely grains and livestock utilizing relatively stable employment levels. By contrast, Florida farm employment is dominated by citrus and vegetable crops requiring seasonal employment. An entirely different set of problems is faced by these two sets of workers and must also be addressed in the form of public policy. One striking difference between a state such as Florida versus the national average is the ratio of family workers to hired farm-workers. The national average is roughly 2:1; by contrast, Florida's ratio is the reverse, about 1:2. This is only one instance where national data can make a substantial difference in placing the particular problem at issue in perspective. Given a focus on the migrant child and migrant farmworker, the interest of this conference is probably more closely associated with the characteristics of Florida, Texas, California, the Southwest, and to some extent the Northeast where there is seasonal agricultural production.

The diversity in types of workers was addressed, distinguishing particularly between domestic and off-shore workers. It was noted that there are 15,000-18,000 H-2 workers on contract in the U.S. The question of undocumented workers was noted. There is no way to responsibly assign a number to this group given our current state of knowledge. This is a large important unknown over which we have little control at this point, but which directly affects any kind of policy one might direct toward farm labor markets.

A second point addressed is characteristics of the workers. One is the low level of education. Another is that nearly one half of all farmworkers are not in the labor force most of the year. Again, this latter point is extremely important to recognize in designing a policy oriented toward major problems we wish to address.

A significant factor is that students are a major component of the labor force. Quite different policy needs are required for those who work year round or are permanently employed in farm work than are required for those who work occasionally to obtain some extra income.

It is also recognized that the income level of farmworkers is very low.

Trends in farm labor in the 1980s are also discussed. The USDA projection that agriculture will have sufficient labor in the 1980s on fewer but larger farms is cited. Although I essentially agree with this projection, it is worthwhile to look separately at the demand for labor and the supply of labor.

The major issues addressed in the paper assessing the trend of agricultural labor in the 1980s are largely factors related to the demand for labor rather than the supply. Some of the issues addressed were, again, the substitution of hired for family labor as happened during the 1970s.

One item I would like to add to the list of demand factors which might alter the trend is unexpected changes in the demand for foreign products. One of the major changes in the 1970s in agriculture was the renewed entry into world markets for agricultural products, largely in grains. Although the expanded grain trade does not directly impact migratory workers, the drastic changes taking place there are illustrative of changes which can result from changing world markets. A more closely related case is the recent debate over whether winter tomatoes should continue to be imported from Mexico. Florida is the major domestic producer of fresh tomatoes during the winter months when no other domestic producer can grow them. Tomatoes from Mexico enter with a tariff as do most other imported goods. However, the tariff is a fixed amount and has not been changed for a number of years. At the same time there has been considerable inflation. The result is that the tariff has become a continually smaller proportion of the cost of production and the price paid at the grocery store. Consequently, the impact of the tariff in reducing the level of tomato imports becomes less and less; domestic producers may find it more difficult to compete.

The impact on labor is quite direct. Florida tomatoes are harvested primarily by hand in contrast to California where they are largely mechanically harvested. Given the fresh market orientation and the Florida conditions, it is simply not profitable at this point to harvest mechanically. As other countries become more competitive in the United States market, there will be fewer domestic fresh tomatoes on the U.S. market, consequently fewer jobs to harvest them. From the employment viewpoint, an important consideration is the employment of these workers over the remainder of the year. To the extent that Florida tomato harvest enables them to piece together year round employment, it may be advantageous. On the other hand, if they are only working during this period and cannot find employment at other times of the year, the benefit to workers is unclear. The resources used in growing tomatoes might be better utilized in some other more profitable activity since it is typically not in our best interest to produce a good at a higher cost than some other country can.

An additional factor is that sudden changes in international markets can place a great deal of the adjustment burden on the labor force. This calls for policies relative to displaced workers.

The argument is made in the paper that sufficient labor will be available in the 1980s because the work requires no experience, few skills and is seasonal. While the seasonality may be an advantage in the mid-west and the northeast since it is during the summer when students are available, it is clearly not the case for Florida, the Rio Grande Valley, and Southern California which have their peak season during the school year.

The major unknown on the supply side is the undocumented worker. Any such change in United States policy such as sending currently undocumented workers home would have profound effects on the supply of labor to agriculture. While it appears that this type of action is unlikely to be the case, it is clear that our future policy toward international mobility can significantly influence the supply of labor to agriculture.

Before explicitly addressing policy issues, let me first state my premise on whom the policy focus should be: The primary target for farmworkers policy should be that group that depends on farm work for a significant part of family income mainly because they have few alternatives to farm employment. However, as noted earlier, there are advantages in broadening the approach beyond agriculture and treating the problem as a low-income issue.

The major points brought out in the paper regarding policy are the following:

1. Improve the ability of farm employment through improved personnel management.
2. Recognize the potential for national farmworker programs.
3. Improve the operation of the employment service.
4. Develop new types of technology which might be used to extend the work season and improve employment stability.

A plea is also made for support for an improved data system which I wholeheartedly support. I would add to this need that attention be given to the development of a family/household orientation of the labor force data. Although it would be costly, it would help to answer a number of questions which a group such as this would like to address.

I would like to note three additional policy issues which need to be addressed: mechanization, international trade, and migration. Mechanization has been credited with vast increases in agricultural productivity, although a major impact has often been diminished direct employment opportunities creating adjustment problems for displaced workers. Often overlooked is the potential which mechanization has for improving employment stability, although it is still at the expense of fewer unskilled jobs. Our lack of effective policy toward this displacement has been painfully clear.

International trade was addressed briefly above. Trade policy typically consists of either tariff barriers or non-tariff barriers such as quality restrictions. The general direction of our trade policy appears to be in the direction of lower tariffs and freer trade. This is particularly beneficial for the consumer. However, the more open is trade, the more shifts in agricultural production there are likely to be, and consequently, shifts in the demand for labor potentially resulting in less stable employment.

Interaction among major components of the labor force are important to recognize, particularly as they relate to alien workers. The major components may be categorized as local domestic workers, domestic migratory workers, and alien workers. Changes in the availability of any one of these groups will impact on the other groups. If there is an increase in domestic migratory workers there will be a decrease in alien and/or local workers. If there is an increase in alien workers, there will be a decrease in migratory and local workers. The critical point to recognize is that workers will move for work if there is a sufficient earnings stimulus over their local opportunities.

One of the major changes in agricultural labor policy during the 1970s has been the dramatic shift toward more protective legislation. The intent has apparently been to extend the same protection to farmworkers as non-farm workers have. There remain differences, but the direction has clearly been toward similar rather than different legislation.

One of the side effects of the increased regulation is an increase in the cost of employing agricultural labor. The question to be addressed is when does the cost of employing workers to harvest a crop exceed the value to the grower of having the crop harvested? If, for example, it costs $3.50 per hour to hire a worker to harvest a crop, but the marginal return from his work is only $2.50, the worker will not be hired. The person having physical endurance, skills, and who can work effectively on the piece rate will continue to find employment. But those who move in and out of the labor force will have more and more difficulty.

The final program I would like to mention is an income maintenance program. Income maintenance programs have not received adequate attention relative to farm labor problems. One of the major difficulties which policy tries to address is assisting those who may be displaced, and as argued above might be displaced by mechanization or change in trade patterns. A major difficulty is identifying those who have been affected by the changes; a particularly difficult problem with a seasonal labor force. A major advantage of this type of program is that it is based solely on income level, which may be low, for whatever reason. Eligibility does not depend on a particular occupation and thus distort the allocation process of the labor market. The income maintenance program concept allows the allocation of labor among activities where persons can find their best employment opportunities and still achieve an income level society deems appropriate within its means.

Again we come back to the point that the problem we must face in designing policy for agricultural labor markets is a low stock of human capital embodied in many persons employed as farmworkers. This is a societal problem, not necessarily the problem of a particular industry, in this case agriculture. In accordance with this, policies are necessary which attack that problem directly rather than the symptoms of the problem.

BLACK MIGRANT CHILDREN AND PUBLIC POLICY

Janice E. Hale

It is important to discuss the Black migrant worker in the context of the agricultural history of Black people in America. It is a history of exploitation that produced slaves, sharecroppers and migrants.

The migrant movement started in the South after the Civil War. The newly freed slaves tested their freedom by wandering to the West and by establishing themselves as industrial workers in the North. Meanwhile, new forms of slavery were devised by plantation owners who were too impoverished to pay the freedmen who remained who were desperately needed to work the land. For the descendants of slaves, migrancy became a way of life.

> Every May found them in ramshackle buses headed for the cabbage, tomato and apple harvest along the Eastern Seaboard, and every October saw them back in Florida shacks picking oranges and grapefruit. In recent years they have been joined in their harvest and farm related activities by Indians from Canada, offshore workers, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and poor whites. These constitute what is known as the Eastern Stream.
>
> Who are they? They are the people whose families depend on for supporting them physically, financially and morally. They are the 'breath of life' for their families know no other lifestyle than being migratory workers. They are the 'children of the sun.' (Mattera and Steel, 1974)

Migrant children are classified in terms of interstate, intrastate and former migrant children. A migrant child is the child of a migratory agricultural worker or a migratory fisherman. S/he is a child who has moved with his family from one school district to another during the 12 months immediately preceding his identification in order that a parent or other member of his immediate family might secure employment in producing agricultural or fishery products. (California Master Plan, 1977.)

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As we consider the policy implications of the dilemma of the Black migrant child, it is important to place this discussion in the perspective of the issues being raised that will give definition to the education of all Black children in America. From that common framework we will then give attention to issues that are particularly salient to Black migrants.

For the past twenty years there has been an implicit assumption by social scientists and policy makers that the difficulties Black children have experienced in school are related to poverty and social class. Poor children of diverse ethnic groups were labeled "culturally deprived," and "disadvantaged" and treated in a homogeneous fashion in compensatory educational programs.

In the late '70s a small group of Black social scientists (Boykin, 1978; Simmons, 1979; Hale, 1980a, 1980) have suggested that ethnicity may be as salient a factor in shaping the behavioral styles of Black children as social class. That is, there are aspects of the culture in which Black children grow and develop that shape the way they approach academic tasks and behave in traditional academic settings.

W.E.B. DuBois described the Black person in America as possessing two "warring souls." On one hand, Black people are products of their Afro-American heritage and culture. On the other hand, they are shaped by the demands of Euro-American culture.

There is a kind of "soulfulness" that characterizes Black culture. Black people transform every cultural mode they interact with: language, music, art, dance, problem solving, sports, writing or any other area of human expression. The task of this paper is to describe aspects of this "soulfulness" that emerges through the Black family and to indicate its relationship to the adjustments that confront Black children in Academic settings. As Wade Boykin has suggested:

> ...perhaps we can facilitate the academic/ task performance of the Black child if we increase the "soulfulness" of the academic setting.

My present work involves conducting a micro-analysis of Black culture that can yield those aspects of the Afro-American ethos that should be considered in the design of learning environments and the planning of learning experiences of Black children.

This discussion will focus upon characteristics of the Black family that influence child-rearing.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK FAMILIES THAT INFLUENCE CHILDREARING

Afro-American culture seems to place a greater degree of emphasis upon affect than Anglo-American culture. The realms of feeling and affect and the cognitive processes arising from interpersonal relations may have important implications for Black people. Research suggests that Black people are a very emotional people. Some of these scholars (Dixon and Foster, 1971; Lester, 1969) have suggested that the emotion-charged, people-oriented quality of Black expression is a part of an African heritage.

Research (Young, 1970) has suggested that white children are more object-oriented than Black children and Black children are more people-oriented than whites. There is greater social breadth in the Black family. This is, there are more children in the household, and there is an extended network of kin and para-kin that is supportive of the nuclear family. So, whereas white children manipulate toys and objects and thereby discover properties and relationships, Black children explore their human environment. Instead of playing alone in a playpen with "tinker" toys, Black babies are passed lap to lap.

Virginia Young contrasts the highly personal interaction with the low object orientation found in Black families. She noticed that few objects were given to babies. The only type observed were some plastic toys that may have been picked up in the supermarket while shopping. Also, when babies reached to grasp an object or feel a surface, they were often redirected to feeling the holder's face or engaged in "rubbing faces" as a substitute. This inhibition of exploration is possible because:

> There are always eyes on the baby and idle hands to take away forbidden objects and then distract the frustrated baby. The personal is thus often substituted for the impersonal.

This affective orientation may be a critical factor that is overlooked in traditional educational settings. This society's educational system is very object oriented. Classrooms are filled with educational hardware and technology--books, listening stations, learning centers, televisions, programmed instruction, learning kits and so forth. There seems to be a higher degree of compatibility between the experience of white children at home and the expectations of the school. It also seems that some of the affective needs of Black children are not being met. The high degree of people orientation may account for the indifferentness with which some Black children regard books and devices. It may also explain why some teachers complain that Black children will not work independently and cling to the teacher. I observed a classroom in which there were children who would work only when older children assisted them individually. It may be that this is a cultural trait that may need to be acknowledged with the result being more human interaction in the learning process.

Another dimension of this affective orientation is the importance of the teacher-student interpersonal relationship. Rapport with the teacher in educational settings and rapport with the examiner in testing settings seems to be strongly related to academic performance for Black students and not very critical for whites. Zigler and others (Zigler and Butterfield, 1968: Zigler, Abelson, and Seitz, 1973) found that when a good rapport was established between an examiner during a standardized testing session, the Black children exhibited significantly superior test performance than when it was not. Such a difference was not found in the white middle-class sample.

Piestrup (1973) has catalogued some of the factors which create good rapport in the teacher-Black student interaction. She demonstrated that when those factors were present, they increased the reading proficiency of first grade Black pupils.

Related to the affective orientation is a proficiency in non-verbal communication .

It has been reported that there is a minimal amount of verbal exchange in lower-class families. Young observes that this is because of the abundance of communication in other forms. She observed Black people to look deeply into each other's eyes, not speaking, but seeming to communicate fully. She suggests that parents use this to impress a point on a child. It has been noted that Black people avoid meeting the eyes of whites and this has been interpreted as a gesture of non-equality. However, Young suggests that it may instead be a gesture of noncommunicativeness, in view of the extensive communication through looking into the eyes within the Black group.

An educational implication of this difference in non-verbal communication is shown in a study conducted by Byers and Byers (1972). They analyzed films of a white teacher interacting with two white and two Black girls of nursery school age. One of the girls of each race was very active in trying to get the teacher's attention with different records of success. The white girl looked at the teacher fourteen times and was successful in catching the teacher's eye on eight of these occasions. The Black girl tried the same thing thirty-five times, and was successful in four of these attempts.

These differences could be interpreted as evidence of discrimination, but it could be the result of cultural differences in non-verbal communication. Analysis of the films showed that most of the Black girl's glances were at times when the teacher's attention was directed in such a way that she could not notice the attempt to get her attention through eye contact. The same was true in the affective area. The white girl seemed to sense when she could move next to the teacher, sit on her lap and so on, without disrupting the activity. The Black girl's attempts were timed differently, suggesting that she and the teacher did not share the same set of expectations and understanding of the meaning of gestures.

These differences in non-verbal communication should be investigated further because it may have implications for the kinds of rewards and punishments Black children elicit from the environment.

Rosalie Cohen (1969) has identified two contrasting styles of learning. One is called the analytical style and the other is the relational style. The analytical style seems to be typical of middle-class whites and the relational style seems to be typical of Blacks. These styles refer to difference in the methods of selecting and classifying information, behaving in a learning situation and approaching learning tasks. (See Appendix for summary of styles.)

The school requires one specific approach to cognitive organization--analytic (Cohen 1969). Pupils who have not developed these skills and those who function with a different cognitive style will not only be poor achievers in school, but will become worse as they move to higher grade levels.

Not only does the school reward the development of analytic styles of possessing information, but its overall ideology and environment re-enforces behaviors associated with that style.

> Aspects of analytic style can be found in the requirements that the pupil learn to sit increasingly long periods of time, to concentrate alone on impersonal learning stimuli, and to observe and value organized time allotment schedules.

The differences between children who function with relational and cognitive styles is so great that a child whose cognitive organization is relational is unlikely to be rewarded socially with grades regardless of his native ability, the depth of his information or his background experience. In fact, he will probably be considered deviant and disruptive in the analytically oriented learning environment of the school.

Cohen suggests further that children develop their cognitive styles based upon the socialization they receive in their family and friendship groups. She analyzes that children who participate in structured families with what she calls "formal" styles of group organization have been observed to function with analytical cognitive style. Those children who live in more fluid families which she called "share-function" primary groups, are more likely to utilize relational cognitive styles. Cohen is suggesting intellectual implications for a characteristic of Black families described by Robert Hill (1972). Hill suggests that adaptability of family roles is a strength of Black families. The ability of family members to take on roles and responsibilities as they arise has permitted the Black family to perform its functions within numerous types of family forms.

Another characteristic of Black families that may affect the behavior of Black children in educational settings is an emphasis on willfulness/assertiveness/style. Black families value idiosyncratic behavior on the part of Black children. There is a strong emphasis upon personal expressiveness, spontaneity, and assertiveness. This emphasis upon individual uniqueness/distinctiveness could be characterized as "style." Style is very important in the Black community. It is not only what you do, but how you do. Thomas Kochman (1970) has described an important difference in personality development in the Black and white communities. Because the opportunity structure has been so limiting, Black people have obtained admiration from their peers for personal attributes rather than their status or office. One is admired for his verbal ability, personality, wit, strength, intelligence, speed and so forth. As Black people have often held jobs which offered less power and prestige, they have acquired prestige within the group through the development of personal attributes. There is a clear relationship between this characteristic and the relational learning style. Cohen suggests that they would thrive in an educational setting that promotes freedom vs. rules; variation vs. standardization; creativity vs. conformity; flexibility vs. rigid order; novelty vs. regularity; uniqueness vs. normality; and improvision vs. precision.

It is no surprise that Cohen feels that relational style users are the most creative in the arts.

Black children are exposed to a high degree of stimulation from the creative arts. They are surrounded with stimuli from: the visual arts such as--posters, painting and graffitti; the audio arts such as--phonographs, radios and tape players; the video arts such as--television and films; and the fashion arts such as--creative hairstyles, hats, scarves and a general orientation toward adornment of the body that grows out of the African heritage.

Another aspect of the creative arts are the performer styles that permeate the Black community. This expressiveness is seen in the behavior of Black preachers, athletes, singers, dancers and is cultivated in individuals throughout the Black community. The Last Poets summed it up by declaring that all Black people "are actors." It is difficult to be Black and boring.

Young Black children learn the significance of perfecting performer roles at an early age. Lee Rainwater discusses Black pre-school children's strategies for getting what they want.

> The children learn that they can gain attention by their ability to perform in expressive adult ways, by using the special Black language, by trying seriously to learn the current dances, by imitating hip and cool aspects of adult behavior. Young Black children learn from early childhood the expressive styles of their community.

Movement and Stimulus Change

Harry Morgan (1976) suggests that Black infants are superior in all aspects of development when the mothers have adequate prenatal care. He also points out that Black children are motorically precocious. They are more active and have more physical energy to expend than white children. Their physical precocity can be substantiated by the numbers of Black athletes who dominate the major sports in numbers that are far disproportionate to Black representation in the population.

Morgan maintains that the schools do not support the natural energy level of Black children. He suggests that Black children need an active environment for successful learning. He states that this is particularly true of lower-income children whose parents emphasize survival skills primarily rather than conformity, docility and quiet manners which is more typical of middle-class childrearing where upward mobility is sought.

Black children are described as entering school for the first time with excitement and enthusiasm. However, the school then crushes the freedom and creativity of the children who cannot channel their energy until given permission to release it. Consequently, Black children elicit more punishment and are labeled hyperactive more frequently because of their motoric activity.

Morgan believes that Black mothers often ignore their children's motoric precocity and do not seek to extend it because development in that area might interfere with the child's ability to be integrated into the school system of white low motor expectations. This situation, he maintains, is detrimental to the natural learning styles of Black children. The school turns into a miniature battleground as the school reacts punitively to the Black child's natural release of motor energy.

Some Black children, Morgan states, are able to quell motor responses. Those who are not able to are usually in the lower-income levels and are labeled disruptive children, prescribed medication, placed in "problem" classes where cognitive expectations are low or are suspended from school where they are ignored.

Morgan states that in California in 1976, 25% of the children were classified as hyperactive. This group includes approximately "two million children who are taking tranquilizers, amphetamines and ritalin--the latter being a behavior modifying drug." The effects of these drugs taken on a daily basis are not known. The only known fact is that the children are more quiet.

The danger in these practices is that they force Black children to conform to a white cognitive model. It also makes Black mothers more reluctant to support and extend the natural motoric responses of their children. When a mother constantly receives reports of misbehavior at school by older children, she may become more punitive and restrictive of the behavior of young pre-schoolers.

Wade Boykin (1977) suggests that the Black home environment provides an abundance of stimulation, intensity and variation. There is a relatively high noise level with televisions on a significant amount of time and constant stereophonic music in the environment. There are usually large numbers of people per living space and a number of a variety of activities. This has been analyzed as "over-stimulation" and as creating "conceptual deafness" by some social scientists (Marans and Lourie, 1967; Goldman and Sanders, 1969; Wach, Uygiris and Hunt, 1971). However, Boykin suggests that this Black stimulating home environment produces greater psychological and behavioral "verve" in Black children than children possess in a white middle-class setting. Exposure to more constant high and variable stimulation, he argues, has led to a higher chronic activation level. Therefore Black children have an increased behavioral vibrancy and an increased psychological affinity for stimulus change and intensity.

It has been pointed out that schools are rather unstimulating and monotonous places to be (Silberman, 1970; Holt, 1964). Boykin suggests that factors like investigatory exploration, behavioral change and novelty and variability have not been incorporated into the classroom. He suggests further that the reason white children are more successful at academic tasks than Black children is that they have a greater tolerance for monotony in academic task presentation formats. They may not perform as well if they were faced with increasing levels of format variation and stimulation or if they were asked to utilize movement more in the learning process. On the other hand, perhaps Black children are not as successful in school because they are relatively intolerant of monotonous, boring tasks and the sterile unstimulating school environment.

Boykin concludes that affective stimulation and vervistic stimulation are necessary for the Black child to be motivated to achieve in an academic setting. He suggests that this is the reason why Black children become turned off by the sterile, boring school environment and seek other areas for achievement and expression. As quoted earlier, he suggests that "perhaps we can facilitate the academic/task performance of the Black child if we can increase the 'soulfulness' of the academic task setting."

SPEECH

Ann Piestrup (1973) conducted a study wherein she identified six techniques of 1st grade reading instruction that were utilized with children who speak a Black dialect. She found that the children had the highest proficiency when they were taught using the "Black Artful" approach. These children were taught by a Black teacher who was comfortable using the dialect with the children. She also spoke rhythmically, varied her intonation and engaged in verbal interplay with the children. This teacher combined a high degree of verbal rapport with high involvement with the lesson.

This study is compatible with the observation by Virginia Young (1970) who described a "contest" style of speech between Black mothers and children in which they volley rhythmically and the child is encouraged to be assertive and develop an individual style. Young also suggests that there is a distinctive manner by which Black mothers gave direction for household tasks. She suggests that it approximates the call and response pattern found in Black music. (A mother's communication of directions in household tasks uses few words, and task for which she has to give instructions are broken down into small units with brief directions for each short task following on completion of the previous one.)

Using rhythm in speech and engaging in verbal interplay by teachers of Black children may connect culturally with Black children who interact rhythmically with their mothers at home.

Sarah Michaels (1980) conducted an ethnographical study of sharing time in a first grade classroom with one-half Black and one-half white children. She emphasizes that the oral discourse skills of children are important precursors to their literary skills. She found a significant difference between the oral presentation styles of the Black and white children. The white children utilized a style that she calls topic-centered. This style was very compatible with the teacher's notion of a good sharing episode. The discourse of these white upper middle-class children tended to be tightly orgnized and centering on a single topic or series of closely related topics.

In contrast to the topic centered style, the lower income Black children, and particularly the Black girls, were far more likely to use what she calls a "topic-chaining" style, that is loosely structured talk which moved fluidly from topic to topic, dealing primarily with accounts of personal relations. It was difficult for the teacher to follow the theme of the stories because she expected the narrative to focus on a single topic. These sharing turns gave the impression of having no beginning, middle or end and hence no point at all. The result was that the Black children seemed to "ramble on" about a series of commonplace occurrences.

With the white children who used topic-centered style, the teacher was highly successful at picking up on the child's topic and expanding on it through her questions and comments. Her questions generally stimulated more elaborated focused talk on the same topic.

With many of the Black children, on the other hand, the teacher seemed to have difficulty identifying the topic and understanding where the talk was going. Therefore, her questions were often mistimed, stopping the child in the middle of a thought. Also, her questions were often inappropriate and seemed to throw the child off balance, interrupting his or her train of thought.

The teacher made several attempts to "teach" the children to select and stick with one topic. However, these attempts were confusing to the children. Her first strategy was to emphasize the notion of "importance." She stated that appropriate topics for sharing were events that were "really, really very important and sort of different." However, the children still had difficulty with this notion.

Later in the year, the teacher tried emphasizing a new sharing principle which was that the children should tell about only one thing. However, the Black children still encountered difficulty in conforming to the topic-centered style.

Michaels noted that this narrative style is the same one identified in informal home conversations between selected children and their mothers, as well as in conversations among peers outside the classroom. This observation supports previous research that suggests a conversational style that is a feature of Black culture.

Additionally, Michaels observed a Black instructional aide in the classroom who led sharing time on occasion. Even though the aide was in general a less skilled teacher of reading and math than the regular teacher, during the sharing session she led, she was better able to pick up on the children's narrative intentions, ask them appropriate questions, and help them round out and organize their narrative accounts.

The problems the teacher had with the Black children seemed to stem from a cultural mismatch between the teacher and child. Such mismatches over time resulted in the white children having more of an opportunity to participate in sharing time, receiving more practice and feeling better about their oral exchanges with the teacher. In as much as sharing time develops skills which are useful when children begin to write topic-centered prose, this ethnic group difference in discourse style could lead to serious educational problems.

Speech and the Black Migrant Child

Laura Lein (1975) conducted a study of the speech behavior and linguistic styles of Black migrant children. She found an emphasis upon spontaneity and general participation. In the home, conversations in migrant camps are occasionally slow moving but are almost always open to general participation.

> Children talk with adults, play verbal games with them, and argue with them, although usually in joking terms. Speech interaction at school often involves long monologues with limited participation by others.

Even in church there is an emphasis upon spontaneity and general participation. There is call and response between the preacher and the congregation. Verbal interchanges such as "amen," "take your time," "tell the story," are not regarded as interruptions but as encouragement. In fact, the minister will elicit such verbal evidence of attention and support by cajoling the congregation. "You don't want to hear about that," to which the congregation will respond that he should "tell it like it is." An individual can spontaneously begin a song or extend a song as well as give a testimony during the service. Lein suggests that:

> At work, at church, and at home, success is valued by migrants but competitive success is not as important as generous participation. The church, the extended family organization of the migrant camp, and the family organization of the work crew all emphasize cooperation rather than competition.
>
> Children who go to school from the migrant camps are faced with important contradictions between home and school. The traditional classroom does not emphasize the qualities of spontaneity, participation, and independence from adults which mark children of migrant camps. Many activities in school are not open to general and spontaneous participation. For instance, teacher monologues or presentations to the class are not meant to be interrupted.

The first category Lein calculated was speech frequency. She observed 13 migrant children in four settings: home with parents present; home with adults absent; school, supervised by the teacher; and school unsupervised by the teacher. She found that migrant children speak less in the supervised classroom than in any other setting. In the classroom they speak considerably less than do students considered able by the teachers. There is also a difference between the home and school in what Lein calls symmetry. That is the extent to which both speakers talk about the same amount. Teachers in the classroom speak much more frequently than does anyone in any of the other settings. Migrant parents in the home speak only a comparatively small amount more than do the children in their presence. Migrant children speak most in groups of peers. They speak most in settings where everyone talks about the same amount.

The second category was speech complexity. In analyzing one student's speech, she found that the complexity varied from setting to setting. In discussion with his peers, the student was most organized. He used complex sentences, provided elaborate evidence in support of his statements, and spoke to the point. At home with his brothers and sisters, he paid close attention to argument and responded appropriately. In the observation with his parents present, his speech was more compressed possibly because they were watching television. However, he still used a number of complex sentences. In contrast, his speech in the supervised classroom was almost monosyllabic, when he spoke at all.

Lein's general findings regarding speech complexity were that the children spoke their longest utterances among their siblings and cousins when they were unsupervised by adults. They used their simplest speech for the classroom in the presence of teachers. They were more prone to use complex language in the presence of parents than teachers. In general, the settings where migrant children spoke the least, they spoke most simply.

Lein suggested some reasons for the quantity and quality of migrant children's participation in the classroom. One reason is fear and misinterpretation of speech. She suggests that the interaction between white teachers and Black students, particularly Black adolescents, in public school classrooms is peculiar in many ways. One of these is that teachers, in the position of authority in the classrooms frequently fear their students. When teachers are afraid they may misinterpret statements in a way that reinforces their fear. Lein observed that the migrant children tease their parents and older relatives and engage them in playful argument, but there are few attempts at verbal combat or pressure. Teachers relatively unacquainted with this stylistic game-playing react as if the children were seriously challenging their authority.

To understand how the school is structured to prevent children from participating, Lein contrasted the behavior expected at church with the behavior expected at school. The church was selected because it was a setting in which similar demands were made on the children but to which they respond differently. The church services are lengthy (three to four hours) but almost all migrant children behave well in church by the standards of parents and other church members:

> However, there are at least two differences between appropriate behavior at church and at school. At school, except in the kindergarten and first grade, students are expected to remain in their seats, moving about the room only at the direction of their teachers. Such sanctioned movements are relatively infrequent. In church, children are expected to spend most of the time

> in their seats, but the movements demanded by participating in the church service involve frequent standing and walking around. As a church service proceeds, people who "have the spirit" shout and move around the room. In addition to this scheduled movement, it is acceptable behavior for children to get up at will to go to the bathroom, to change seats, and to quiet and fondle children younger than themselves... Both more regulated, scheduled movement and more spontaneous movement are acceptable in church than in the school classroom.

Lein also notes that there is a difference in the freedom to verbalize at church and at school. At church there are a number of scheduled events for verbal participation by the congregation such as singing, responsive readings, testimonies, voting to accept new members and so forth. In addition, as noted before, there is extensive call and response between the congregation and the speakers. Hence, there is continual verbalizing.

> This is in contrast to the classroom where attention is more usually marked by silence or by questions and remarks at relatively long intervals. Acceptable indicators of attention and appropriate participation by the child are different in school and in church. And the prerogatives of the children are different.

Lein observed that migrant children usually only display their speech skills in settings in which they speak with some regularity. She suggests that at school participation and skill demonstration are frequently silent activities.

> Eye contact rather than verbal contribution is a sign of attention and participation. Demonstrations of ability are usually in the form of individual trials of new skills before the teacher.

The study points out a number of incompatibilities between the culture of the school and the culture of the home. Lein concludes that teachers need to listen to students speak in contexts where they exhibit their best speech skills.

> Demanding examples of good speech from students in tests or in the usual classroom situations is not necessarily an effective way of finding out what students know. Listening to exchanges between

peers and peer evaluations of such exchanges is an important part of discovering how children speak. Also, it is a reasonable mechanism for learning how children interpret and react to speech. Teaching teachers the skills of anthropological observation and analysis may be one helpful way of enlarging their understanding of what is happening in the classroom.

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE BLACK MIGRANT CHILD

Education

Manual Reyes (1978) outlines the following needs of migrant children in education:

1. The need of compensate for inadequate living conditions.
2. The need to compensate for a frequently interrupted and itinerant education.
3. The need to overcome health and nutritional defects which interfere with the educational process.
4. The need for others to know, understand and appreciate the nature of their problem.
5. The need to identify with successful role models who are similar to themselves in background, culture and language.
6. The need for motivation to complete a high school education.
7. The need for personal, vocational and family guidance.
8. The need to communicate.
9. The need for common experiences.
10. The need for relevant opportunities.
11. The need to be recognized for their potential and creativity.
12. The need for assistance from the community at large.

There are several needs of Black migrant children that are distinctive and several they share to varying degrees with other Black children. One of their distinctive needs is a recognition and alleviation of the tension they face between urban and rural life and the problem that poses in adjusting to school and schoolmates. Even though Afro-American culture in the United States has a southern rural base, and that fosters continuities among Blacks throughout the country, urban living produces a more aggressive and distinctively stylistic expression of that culture that can be disconcerting to newcomers. So, attention should be given to the social adjustments demanded of Black migrant children.

Edgar Easley (1978) reports that often it is thought that rural migrants possess few skills and are in need of massive doses of education. Often the coping and survival skills they possess are ignored. This tension is one of lack of assessment and appreciation of student skills and lack of ability to translate existing skills to a new setting.

Easley suggests four major areas in which this tension can be reduced: curriculum, counseling, social interaction and support services.

In the area of curriculum a good deal of the content in reading and computational skills can be adapted to circumstances familiar to the student. "It is an evident statement that one moves from the known to the unknown in terms of examples, practices and considerations."

In the area of counseling, there is a need to present to the Black students expanded occupational opportunities. Robert Hill (1972) identified a strong motivation to achieve as a strength of Black families. However, Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf (1966) reported that urban Blacks have high occupational goals and strong desires to reach those goals but such a high motivation is not present to the same extent among rural Blacks.

A study conducted by Kuvlesky in 1971 suggests that Black children need an opportunity to establish an identification with successful role models from their ethnic backgrounds. He reported that both urban and rural Black male youths adopted role models from "glamour" figures such as entertainers and athletes. Rural Black female youths also chose "glamour" figures such as Diana Ross. But urban Black female youths chose teachers as role models. Additionally, in all four groups significant family persons were role models. This selection of glamour figures probably comes from the preoccupation of the media (even the Black media) with the exploits of entertainers and athletes. Since there is such a paucity of Black professionals that Black children routinely encounter, there are not enough role models to encourage upward mobility. If this is the case for Blacks, it is clear that the situation is aggravated for Black migrant workers.

Another problem in achieving high aspirations by Blacks is the lack of information regarding the mechanisms for achieving success. When one is the child of migrant workers and most of one's extended network of relatives are engaged in that occupation, one is at a severe disadvantage in trying to deviate from the known path to pursue a different occupational goal. Members of the dominant society have numerous exposures and opportunities that are taken for granted. They have family members who not only serve as role models, but who also understand the choices, sacrifices and support systems that are needed in order to achieve success.

It is important to understand the bonds of social interaction within a community and to utilize these networks in introducing new programs and in facilitating social assimilation for migrant children. Often churches, jobs and clubs are composed of persons who earlier migrated from the same area. Understanding the role of the church as a social institution may assist in bridging the gap between migrant "newcomers," urban residents and institutions. This social interaction network can be useful in providing information about support services that are available to migrants.

In instances where Black people have been reticent to avail themselves of social services, it has been recommended that those agencies study institutions in the Black community, such as the church and adopt those features that seem to be effective.

Black migrant children would benefit from self-image improvement. They (as with other Black children) should be involved in cross-cultural education about events in Black history and contributions made to society by persons of different ethnic backgrounds.

Another important area that is of educational importance is the area of assessment. A study by Oxford in 1977 suggested that norm-referenced tests are not as effective in evaluating migrant students as are criterion-referenced tests because of the following factors:

1. underrepresentation of disadvantaged and minority students in the test development and standardization processes;
2. underrepresentation of low-difficulty test items, resulting in test insensitivity to growth of low achieving students over time;
3. an inadequate test floor for disadvantaged and minority students;

4. mismatches between test content and project objectives;
5. test construction which is not based on a representative sample of expected learning behaviors; and
6. misinterpretation of grade equivalent scores in reporting results.

Oxford suggests that criterion-referenced tests might alleviate some of these problems, provide more flexibility in the timing in administering the tests and offer more explicit information than norm-referenced tests about what a student can or cannot do relative to specific objectives or skills.

A related issue to testing is the recognition of potential and creativity within the context of Black migrant culture. This is a need of Black children in general. There is an inadequate definition of giftedness as it is expressed in their culture.

Health and Nutritional Needs

There are health and nutritional problems that migrant children share with other Black children. Some scholars (Pasamanick and Knoblock, 1958, 1966; Kawi and Pasamanick, 1959; Drillian, 1964) suggest that some difficulty some Black children experience in academic tasks can be explained by minimal brain damage associated with premature birth. Since the rate of prematurity is high among low income Blacks, it is possible that many cases of low achievement could be caused by organic disorders. This seems to be more critical for Black male children who seem more vulnerable to organic disorders than girls.

Poor nutrition seems to be an important factor that influences attentiveness and academic tasks and school achievement. It has been suggested (Birch and Gussow, 1970) that while Black children are not necessarily malnourished they may be less well-nourished than white children. Children who are poorly nourished or undernourished are less attentive to school tasks and more distracted by their hunger sensations.

According to the Interstate Migrant Education Task Force on Migrant Health the major obstacles to administering a total health care system to migrant families are: 1) unavailability of accurate information pertaining to migrant health and 2) inadequate appropriations. Some of the major findings of the Task Force were:

1. Health needs of migrants in all service areas, including preventive education, nutrition, prenatal care, dental checkups, treatment and emergency care are critical.
2. Services to the handicapped children and other children with special needs are largely unavailable.
3. A large percentage of the health problems identified among migrant families is attributable to unsanitary and unsafe working conditions.
4. Many migrant families are excluded from services that are available because of a tangle of residency requirements and annual income eligibility requirements.

The Task Force makes several recommendations on the basis of these findings. Essentially they are:

1. More comprehensive legislation at the national level.
2. Better planning for the delivery of health services.
3. More research on the basic health needs of migrant children. More research on the needs of migrant children who are handicapped, gifted, abused and neglected.
4. More involvement of the agricultural and fishing industries in the health and welfare of migrant workers and their families.

CONCLUSION

There is need for more basic ethnographical research on the culture of Black migrant children. It is easier to eliminate the weaknesses they experience in obtaining upward mobility in mainstream society by building upon their strengths and abilities. When more is known and understood about their religious orientation, the way in which their extended family functions, these networks can be utilized in beginning to solve the problems they face.

Too often Americans have a "wonder drug" approach to social problems. There is a need for a greater sensitivity toward basic research on the development of Black children before programs are designed. Too many programs have been assembled overnight, imposed on communities and found ineffective ten years later. We need to engage in basic research as a first step in program development. I am reminded of the African proverb that says: "To move slowly is sometimes more advantageous than to go speedily." It is clear that we need action, but it is equally clear that we need informed social policy.

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PUBLIC POLICY AND MIGRANT HISPANIC CHILDREN

Tomás Martinez

Let us begin with a portrait of the migrant child today, particularly the Chicano-Mexicano migrant child. Flowing up from and fanning out through the Southwest, South and Midwest, the typical migrant Chicano school age child in the various states shares the following characteristics (California Migrant Education Division of the Department of Education):

- attend an average of three different schools per year
- lack facility with the English language
- are two to three years behind their peers
- less than 10% entering first grade will graduate from high school
- have severe health and dental problems
- average family income is $4,481 annually
- large families, often five to six children, at home
- lack social exposure necessary for social growth and development
- inadequate housing and sanitary conditions

Below school age, Chicano migrant children statistics are more difficult to obtain, since medical and educational agencies are not directly involved in their welfare, for a variety of reasons. The migrant children who are born in the United States are entitled to receive certain services but many, probably most, do not. Evidence reported by Wayne A. Cornelius of the Migrant Development Study Group of the Center for International Studies at M.I.T. indicates that illegals utilize such programs at a rate of only 1-3%, which helps account for the dismal portrait of migrant children. The issue of entitlement is central to this portrait and needs to be understood.

Entitlement

Anyone born in the United States is automatically eligible for certain birthrights, such as AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) programs. Yet parents of migrant children are often fearful to apply for aid and other birthrights for their children, especially when the parents are not citizens of the United States. Fear is formally instilled in the parents by well-meaning social service counselors in many instances.

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For example, in East Los Angeles, one of the largest social service areas for Chicano migrant families and illegal "entrants" (a term more polite than "alien"), many counselors advise the families that if they apply for any public assistance, such as aid to dependent children, it may spoil their chances of obtaining citizenship status. When a family or individual applies for citizenship, one routine question is "have you ever or are you receiving any public assistance?" Having received public assistance is often used as a reason for denial of application for citizenship.

Another fear that keeps the parents of migrant children who were born in the United States from applying for public assistance is the question on the application form that asks "are you a citizen of the United States?" Many migrant parents are honest and report that they are not citizens and find this gets them into trouble with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The grape vine tells families that if they apply for public assistance their status as illegal entrants will be revealed and they will be deported. Fear is further instilled in the illegal migrants by the entrepreneurs (commonly called "coyotes") who smuggle them across the U.S.-Mexican border and who do not seek to invite inquiries into their illegal activities. The coyotes carefully inform the migrants that the authorities will deport them and their entire family if they accept any social welfare services of any kind, including medical services and education for their children. Thus, the fear purposively instilled in the illegal migrants by the coyotes leads them to avoid any services to which children may be entitled by their birthrights.

Some states such as California have enacted legislation that entitles migrant children to an education. In California, the schools must admit all children into the school, including migrant children who have entered the United States illegally with their parents or who are United States citizens but with parents who are not legal entrants. Other states, such as Texas, have generated active resistance to enrolling migrant children in their schools, especially those with families of illegal status. Governor Clements of Texas is taking the issue to the United States Supreme Court in order to obtain judicial relief to resolve the dispute.

The situation in Texas is an interesting one. In 1975, the Texas legislature passed a law restricting free public education to legal entrants and citizens. Illegal "alien" children were barred completely from the Dallas schools that used the 1975 law as its authority. Houston chose to charge a monthly tuition of $162 which is outside the means of a migrant farm family.

A suit was filed on behalf of a group of parents of undocumented and migrant children who challenged the Texas statute on grounds that it violated the children's constitutional rights. In July 1980, Houston Federal Judge Woodrow Seals agreed with the challenging parents and ruled that illegal children are entitled to the same public education as citizens. Judge Seals based his ruling on the 14th Amendment, which prohibits any state from denying equal protection of the laws "to any person within its jurisdiction." Judge Seals stated that "person" means any resident of Texas, whether or not he or she is a citizen and arrived legally. He went on to say that to deny these children equal opportunity would "create a permanent underclass...(and) insure that most of them will become wards of society."

It is ironic perhaps in a historical sense that such a prohibitive and unfair statute would come from the state of Texas where early battles for equal educational opportunity were fought. A legendary Texas attorney and civil rights champion of the late forties and mid-fifties was Gustavo Garcia. In the Delgado Decision (1948), for instance, Gustavo Garcia successfully proved that children of Mexican American ancestry were being unlawfully segregated in the Texas school system.

In 1948, Gus Garcia argued in his brief (Minerva Delgado et al. v. Bastrop Independent School District) in the U.S. District Court of Texas that:

> Pursuant to said custom, usage and/or common plan, the above-named Defendants (Texas Independent School Districts named in the brief) have, for several years last past, prohibited, barred and excluded, and do now prohibit, bar and exclude the Plaintiffs, and all such school children of Mexican descent, from attending the certain regular schools and classes, within their charge and under their control, reserved by said Defendants for the exclusive attendance of the other white school children; and said Defendants have thus prevented said school children of Mexican descent, from receiving the educational, health and recreational benefits which such other white children receive in said regular schools and classes...

Gus Garcia won that famous school desegregation case. Later in 1954, Gus Garcia argued before the United States Supreme Court in the case Texas v. Hernandez that the designation of "white" to people of Mexican descent was a misplaced identification because they are treated separately by the public institutions, which is a form of discrimination based upon national origin. His argument won the rare unanimous opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court, on the 5th of May, 1954, two weeks before it rendered the more well-known Brown v. Board of Education.

Many of the children who were the Plaintiffs in the school (Delgado) decision were of migrant background. Garcia drew upon the patterns of discrimination against children of Mexican ancestry to explain to the United States Supreme Court how the public institutions in Texas treated them separately and unequally, as he won the unanimous victory in the Hernandez case. The Hernandez case was the first time the Supreme Court dealt with the question of discrimination against persons of Mexican descent. The State of Texas contended that the Mexican American people are not being discriminated against since they are already part of the "white" classes. Gus told the Warren Court that "we're officially members of the white race, the great white race, thank you, but Mexican Americans in Texas are not allowed to go to the same schools as white children; we cannot eat at cafes next to whites." While the social conditions in Texas are not exactly the same today as in 1954, the migrant children of Mexican ancestry, particularly of illegal entrant families are the scapegoats of racism in parts of Texas and elsewhere. Rights are being denied them. Garcia would turn over in his grave if he knew that his legacy was being subverted; more so, he would try probably to encourage today's attorneys to take the hard cases and fight racism against children of Mexican ancestry.

The Texas State Comptroller, as quoted in El Paso Times (July 24, 1980), said: "Illegal aliens have been paying sales tax, motor vehicle tax and gasoline tax just like Texas residents. Some may treat them as second class citizens, but they are first class taxpayers. Frankly, I think it is time we quit worrying about where some kid was born and start worrying about what kind of education all our kids are getting."

By September 1980, Associate Justice of the United States Court, Lewis Powell, Jr., upheld the injunction which allows undocumented children to attend school in Texas, while the State appeals the case. The brief against the state of Texas (Certain Named and Unnamed non-citizen Children and Their Parents v. Texas et al.), stated that undocumented children have not been able to attend Texas public schools since the challenged statute (§21.031) was enacted in 1975. Also noted was the fact that Texas independent school districts receive more Title I money than any other state in the nation from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Further substantial sums of bilingual education money has been pouring into the Texas schools. Thus, undocumented children are counted, then excluded from actual instruction. Some of the Texas schools were handling undocumented children without any apparent problems.

In today's times with tight local budgets already being strained and pulled in many different directions, local officials are not likely to support in large numbers more educational and health, much less housing, services at the local level. The lack of uniformity in state policies toward migrant children underscores the logical need for a national solution not a local solution to the multiple issues raised by the existence of large numbers of migrant children in the United States.

CHILD LABOR

Mostof the children of migrant parents work. The whole family works and the idea of more workers is the typical mode among the migrants. Little children three and four years of age work in the fields. Five and six-year olds who should be entering school work with their parents picking crops to feed the rest of the country. Their day begins at five or six a.m. when the temperature is cool. Then, at the midday heat, they continue to work, including the children. The children's growth is impaired. Their little muscles and bones do not grow properly because they are expending too much effort and straining themselves.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of migrant child labor is that their childhood is lost. They never get to experience what it is like to enjoy being a child. Instead, they become simply little toilers in the field, not playing but working. In testimony before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on July 28, 1969, Robert Coles pointed out:

> At three or four the children are boisterous, eager, impatient to experience the next ride, the next camp. Between five and ten those same children experience an ebb of life, even a loss of life. They move along all right; they pick themselves up again and again, as indeed they were brought up to do, as their parents continue to do. They get where they are going, and to a casual eye they seem active enough, strenuous workers in the field. But a change is taking place. Once wide awake, even enterprising, they

> slowly become dilatory, leaden, slow, laggard, and lumpish.

It is this image of lost childhood that haunts the farmlands of this country where migrant children replace childhood giggles with groans of labor.

Children in the fields are often given work assignments by either their parents or the owners, such as waiving the small planes over the areas to be sprayed. The problem is that while the task itself is not strenuous, the children are exposed to the pesticides being sprayed by the planes in sometimes lethal doses. Moreover, the children and their families are often asked to work in fields the same day or the day after they were sprayed. This practice leads to a terrifying health problem known among farmworkers as "la muerte andante," or the walking death. The disease manifests itself suddenly. A child or adult is exposed to pesticides over a period of time. With little warning other than some discomfort in breathing, the person drops in the field, dead for no other apparent reason.

MIGRANTS AND CRIME

In many parts of rural America where Chicano migrant families work, they are preyed upon frequently by the local population of thieves and bullies because the migrant's fear of police authority is known by the criminal element. The living conditions of migrants is transient which leads them to avoid putting their money in the banks. The criminal elements seem to know this and, therefore, prey upon the migrants to get their meager savings with the knowledge that the migrants will most likely not seek police protection and will not cooperate with the police. Migrant crime victims are not inclined to report offenses against them, whether the crime is robbery, rape or violent abuse, although in the case of children, the migrants do seem to be more willing to report a crime.

As people living in a certain county or state, the migrants are entitled to police protection, even if they are not legal citizens of the country, much the same as protection is granted to tourists. Moreover, the local police, as a matter of policy, do not ordinarily bother the migrant, legal or illegal. Unless a crime is committed by the migrants, the police will not arrest them. Yet, the illegal migrants do not know that they are entitled to ordinary police protection and assistance. For instance, it is a common occurrence for an illegal migrant to be found beaten and maybe stabbed or slashed with his money taken away. The local police, in several cases I researched in Madera County, California, a place with a large migrant population, offered to take the victim for medical attention only to encounter resistance and a refusal of their help.

The statistics to be presented were gathered through telephone conversations and personal interviews with some of the people whose data I quote, and which I independently verified through official statistics. For instance, in 1969, 201,000 undocumented Mexican people were apprehended and sent back across the border. Ten years later, that figure rose to 1,033,000 Mexicans caught by the "Migra" and forcefully deported.

The problem is the undocumented migrant workers, including innocent children are treated solely as police matters (Nuestro, September 1979). By September 13, 1980, in a twelve month period, about 15,000 Latino illegals have been jailed as witnesses against smugglers or coyotes. Of these, 900 jailed witnesses are juveniles, some with their mothers, some without. These juveniles come largely from Mexico, but increasing numbers come from troubled Latin American countries like El Salvador.

In the United States of America, there is a law against the jailing of persons without cause and yet this law is regularly abused in the case of illegal entrants. Nowhere is this law more flagrantly violated than in the case of the hundreds of minors, children under the age of twelve who are locked up this very moment in the prisons near the borders under the wide authority of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Cinderblock cells contain children of migrant families who have been detained by the border patrol in such states as California, Texas and Arizona.

Children as young as twenty-four months are being imprisoned in the federal prison system at the Metropolitan Correctional Center, El Centro Detention Center in California and the San Ysidro Detention Center for periods of one to ninety days. The children, mostly infants, are kept in the prisons along with their mothers, but usually in separate cells, on the pretext of being "material witnesses" against the smugglers who took them across the United States-Mexico border.

THE NATIONAL NEWS MEDIA AND THE PROBLEMS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

The United States national news media has few examples of good, responsible journalistic coverage of the problems of migrant children and their families. Perhaps among the first notable and solitary stories was in 1960. Edward R. Murrow produced a shocking special segment on migrant farmworkers in Florida to the generation that elected John F. Kennedy to the White House. "It was responsible journalism at its finest," says Dr. Jesús Luna, Director of La Raza Studies at California State University, Fresno.

In 1972, NBC news did a white paper on migrant farmworkers in Florida to follow up the one twelve years earlier by the former dean of TV newscasters. NBC found almost no change in the social conditions under which the migrant children and their families live. Maybe if more media attention had been paid to the problem, something would have been done. For sure, without responsible media exposure of this inhumane aspect of the United States domestic scene, very little "pressure" would be generated and communicated to the proper places.

The uses of the media go beyond reporting and analyzing social events. The media is also an educational instrument. Media educational and health programs can be effectively utilized to instruct the children of migrant farmworkers. Bilingual media programming is also a consideration. The media programs dealing with health and education can follow the migrant children as they move.

Fifty states and hundreds of school districts and classroom personnel have the mandate for providing the migrant child with the foundation of linguistic and cognitive skills in order to function in American society. Migrant children move with the crop patterns and belong to no specific school district, which presents a set of educational problems that are problematic for traditional educational systems. "The use of television as a supplementary resource can assist in addressing the educational problems of the migrant preschooler and young child without requiring them to change their lifestyle. Television can be incorporated into existing formal and informal educational settings serving migrant children as a vehicle to reduce the discontinuities and provide a common continuing learning experience." (Position Paper, Children's Television Workshop, August 1979, pp. 2-3.)

Based upon the logical argument put forth by the Children's Television Workshop and related considerations, I would recommend state migrant offices engage in cooperative projects with media organizations to increase educational opportunities of migrant children, utilizing bilingual programming to further contribute to the children's acquisition of essential skills.

IMMIGRATION ISSUES

On June 16, 1980, the odyssey of ten-year-old Sylvia Alvarado began when she left her home in troubled El Salvador. She headed to the United States border with her grandmother, but was apprehended with a group of other Salvadorians who were crossing illegally. Her journey ended with her being locked up as a material witness against the coyote her abuela or grandmother had hired to escort them into the United States. Little Sylvia was incarcerated in a "tiny cinderblock cell" near Brownsville, Texas, according to the New York Times (Aug. 4, 1980), for at least three months because "there is no place else for her to go," said INS officials.

Young, naive illegal entrants are "subject to a lot of harassment by the general population," said Robert La Roche, United States Marshall in Sacramento. In July 1980, a group of young women illegals were held in an Arizona prison and "subjected to brutal homosexual attacks." Mothers with children are often separately held and the children taken away to foster homes. The coyotes, in the meantime, are allowed to go free on bail, in an irony of justice.

Impact on U.S.-Mexican Relations

A reasonable and humane labor exchange program between the United States and Mexico is lacking today. Its absence is reflected in the unfortunate portrait of Mexican migrant children. There was a time, however, when there were better relations between the two countries. This was the "Good Neighbor Era" launched by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the late thirties to achieve hemispheric unity in the face of the impending threat from the Axis powers. The policy continued into World War II. Not only was Mexican and Latin labor encouraged, but also the image of Hispanics in the mass media, particularly the movies, was undergoing positive revision. A special White House office, headed by Nelson D. Rockefeller was set up to help Hollywood producers make movies that would not insult and demean Mexican and Latino people. This was a dramatic change after forty years of demeaning Hispanics on the silver screen.

The Good Neighbor Policy was useful in the World War II era and could be useful in the world situation today. International relations are not undimensional; they are multifaceted and based upon mutual dependency. Better relations with Mexico may influence Mexican public policy to allocate more of its vast petroleum reserve to the United States, which would be a critical factor in a prolonged cutoff of

Arabian oil. Mexican oil is also less expensive in some cases due to the savings on transportation.

However, Mexican public policy that determines oil allocations and production is only one of three areas Mexico has as its main agenda items in dealing with the United States. The other two areas are (a) Mexican migration, and (b) general trade relations. The question is, would better treatment of migrants, particularly the migrant children, have any positive effect upon United States-Mexican relations? To answer this question, I spoke with several leading Mexican officials and intellectuals. All were concerned with the plight of the migrant children in much more than a casual manner. Lic. Claudio Farias, the Special Assistant to Dona Margarita Lopez Portillo, sister of the President, and Director General of Radio Television y Cinematografia, said "it was a terrible situation to see the little migrant children in jails. Why? What's the point?"

Sociologist Jorge Bustamonte is the leading Mexican expert on Mexican migration. Trained in universities in the United States, he is a professor at El Colegio de Mexico, the Mexican think tank, similar in function and status to the Brookings Institution. He has been co-directing the largest study ever undertaken on Mexican migration and his opinion and advice is sought at the highest levels of Mexican policy-making.

In response to my question, he said in an interview on October 6, 1980: "Anything made to realize better treatment for Mexican migrant children and their families would be considered a constructive factor in overall United States-Mexican relations."

When I asked Professor Bustamonte for areas he would recommend for consideration as United States public policy, his first response was, "the whole question of children being detained as witnesses which results in child separation from parents and forced to mix with adults, often hardened offenders." For a specific recommendation, he suggested a prohibition on detention of migrant children in any circumstance. He pointed out the irony of the smugglers or coyotes being set free on bond while the children are detained as witnesses. Moreover, United States detained witnesses are usually provided a fee of about $30 per day, but no such fee has been forthcoming to the migrant children and their parents. Mexico has formally requested such a witness fee as compensation to the migrant families, but the United States Department of Justice has so far refused to do so.

On the topic of violence at the border and the sometimes gross treatment of Mexican migrants that becomes manifest, Dr. Bustamonte suggested, "there is a need for a program to monitor the border conditions of undocumented children and violations of child labor laws of both the United States and Mexico." Without monitoring, I can agree, violations of child labor laws will continue. Monitoring child labor violations would benefit the migrant children, or so it would seem. Yet, concern over child labor violations has not reached a level where demands are being made to curb child labor exploitation through monitoring.

Dr. Bustamonte, was quick to point out that most undocumented workers from Mexico are basically law-abiding people who wish primarily to work in order to better their lives. Approximately 750,000 to one million such people cross the U.S. border each year, which he considers the "total flow." Ninety-five to ninety-seven percent of the total flow return to Mexico either voluntarily or involuntarily. Most of those returned involuntarily would probably have returned anyway on their own. Very few have committed any crimes in the United States and seldom used social services. Historically, most of the Mexican migration has been of a temporary nature.

The main problem as Dr. Bustamonte sees it, is the image of the Mexican undocumented worker. The image is painted sinister by the Immigration and Naturalization Services in their efforts to hire more manpower and increase the authority and size of its agency. "Americans must become more sensitive and aware of excessive maltreatment foisted upon the undocumented Mexican worker, especially the children," he said. He noted that the treatment of children has been brought up for discussion by the office of Relaciones Exteriores de Mexico to the United States State Department through the consultative mechanisms in recent years, but to no avail.

The present situation of maltreatment toward Mexican migrant children and their families will, in Dr. Bustamonte's estimation, "get worse before it gets better." It will get better as the development programs of the Mexican government progress. The development programs are especially aimed at the countryside of Mexico from which many of the people choose to migrate to work on United States farmlands in order to feed their families. It may take another five to ten years before the development programs have a visible impact upon the migration patterns of undocumented workers and their children. Mexico is providing for programs to alleviate the problems associated with poverty and crop failures in its countryside, using revenues from foreign sale of energy products. In time, we may even witness a migration pattern from the United States to Mexico because of the shifting opportunity structure. Nevertheless, the time to prepare for better relations with Mexico is upon us. It is incumbent upon institutions in the

United States which are charged with the responsibility of caring for the education, health and welfare of the Mexican migrant children and their families to take more constructive steps than in the past.

In this sense, more community services for migrant children of Mexican ancestry is an investment for the United States not only in a better social system, but also in developing a better relationship with Mexico that could prove to be a very critical factor if world conditions continue along the lines seen in recent months and years. Many countries around the world have made relations with Mexico a priority as we enter into the energy-starved 1980s. The United States should also make better relations with Mexico a priority. To show good faith and sensitivity by initiating better services and treatment for the migrant Mexican children would be a fine beginning to a better relationship between the United States and Mexico.

CONCLUSION

There is a need to revitalize programmatic thinking and planning regarding migrant children in the United States in order to break the chain of stagnation that presently exists. In the past, revisions of public policy regarding child labor, health and education in the United States took on the clear trappings of a "moral crusade." The public was exposed to the evils of, say, industrialization. Whatever the case, the traditional moral crusade to save the children, the migrant children, does not seem destined for success, although public awareness is always needed and can be useful.

Politicians have not championed the cause of migrant children perhaps because children and their families cannot afford to work for and contribute to political campaign coffers. Few of the caring politicians, who are called in a pejorative manner by rank and file conservatives as "bleeding heart liberals," have found a constituency among the migrant children.

Organizations set up to assist migrant children need to affiliate more with media organizations in order to generate and focus more attention on the problems that require solutions. Media coverage is often an underutilized tool for social change by both the media and interested citizens. In addition to the private media, a rather large bureaucracy of public broadcasting exists and should be used. Public broadcasting was created to fill the programming voids in television and radio left by commercial broadcasters. Public broadcasting was established to meet the unmet needs of American society and, therefore, should be responsive to programming suggestions and proposals that deal with the plight of migrant children. Public pressure may be brought to bear upon public broadcasting by the migrant organizations and their supporters to develop responsible programming.

There is obviously a need for more activism in the area of migrant children. The media has to take a more active role in exposing a perennial problem that follows America's crops from California through Texas and the Southwest up to New England. The media has neglected the abused and neglected migrant children too much and by its continual neglect is not contributing to the elevation of the problem into the realm of more civilized public policy toward migrant children.

Clearly, a national not a local solution to the health, education and housing of migrant children is needed. Unless the child is made a ward of the state by taking him or her away from the migrant parents, which frequently occurs, especially in the case of illegal entrants, the states do not consistently assume the migrant child is entitled to public assistance. Working conditions for the migrant children is so far from a concern of the states that very few states are ever faced with the decision on how to enforce ordinary and longstanding child-labor laws.

Mobile health and educational units are needed in order to follow the migrant children into the field where they toil to feed the U.S. Most community services do not reach the migrant children. Therefore, the services must be taken to where the children are through innovative mobile health and education units.

Without adequate educational, health and housing facilities for migrant children and their families, there is the likely consequence of creating and maintaining a permanent underclass in American society that contradicts the very notion of equal educational opportunity and equal protection of the law.

It can be said to America as it portends to be a world leader: Heal thyself, and the world will follow.

PUBLIC POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon the understanding, put forth in this paper, of migrant children in America today, particularly Mexicano-Xicano migrant children, the following policy recommendations and discussion are offered.

1. More constructive community services need to be created either out of new funds or out of existing funds by reorganizing current services to migrant children. Such reorganization ought to weigh the benefits to the children vis-a-vis the benefits of a variety of administrative positions. Administrative top heaviness probably does little to help the migrant children.

2. Greater national coordination of services to migrant children is needed in order to cause more effective control over the disparate services. The migrant child is truly a national problem. Currently, a variety of state and federal agencies intervene in the lives of the migrant children. A lead agency is needed to monitor the various governmental programs to insure more effectiveness, consistency in standards of health, education and housing services.

3. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) should not detain children of migrant Mexican and Hispanic workers in detention cells as either witnesses against smugglers or for other purposes of prosecution. A law should be passed that requires the INS to turn such children over to a community service agency that will provide for their welfare and seek to reunite them with their families. INS should be required to take all ill children immediately to medical services.

4. More mobile educational and health services ought to be created by any means possible, including a reorganization of existing programs, private foundation support, and volunteerism. In the case of educational services, administrative paperwork has replaced direct educational services to the children. Research conducted by Professor José Maestre, School of Education, University of San Francisco, on the migrant education program in California indicated that, as of 1978, the migrant child received an average of ten to fifty minutes of direct instruction per day.

5. Bilingual and bicultural community services are nonexistent in many regions of the country where Spanish-speaking migrant children live and work with their families before moving on with the crop seasons.

6. A more logical and humane work exchange program between the United States and Mexico is long overdue. The injustices incurred by illegal migrant workers and their children is the humane consideration. Economic rationality also informs the United States that a consistent,

reliable work force is better than a haphazard one that flows through illegal channels and diverts United States government resources needlessly. Developing better economic exchange relations with Mexico may be possible by taking constructive steps to treat the problem of Mexican migration and the abuse of Mexican children. Hemispheric unity and hemispheric energy independence are already at the level of national security goals. The better treatment of the Mexican migrant children may be a key to the achievement of this national security goal.

7. The violence at the border in general deserves to be monitored by an agency independent of the INS. The border is the environment in which the Mexican migrant children travel as their families take them from one side to another in search of food and work. The children deserve protection from violence and exploitation.

FOR FURTHER READING

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COMMENTS ON THE PAPERS ON PUBLIC POLICY AND THE MIGRANT CHILD

Lea B. Pellett and Richard D. Morrison

Ms. Pellett: The approach to caring for the needs of migrant children has been incremental efforts to provide a slightly more humane system in order to keep alive a farm labor system that ultimately is not tenable for children. The human development objectives we would recommend for all children are obtained with difficulty within the overall circumstances of migrancy.

In simplest terms, we do not know very much about the cultural background of the children we are trying to educate--the wide differentiation, the diversity. We have very little internal validity out of the research we are doing. We have a long way to go before we have a solid, usable educational program for migrant education.

The presentation of the concept of "soul" or "soulfulness" as entre into understanding of the Black child is better understood, perhaps, if it is seen in its historical element. Soul in the United States is a North American rendition of the concept of negritude. Historically or allegedly, the concept originated in the office of John Paul Sartre as a response to African leaders that textbooks for generations had begun with "Our forefathers, the Gauls." They recognized that if ever white tribes were to leave the continent to African development, it was necessary to develop a self image that could permit the evolution of power and control over their own lives.

The concept was brought to the United States, not so much by liberals, but by fairly moderate Black leaders: persons concerned because the combination of integration and ostracism in public education was lethal. The very noble kind of assumption was that successful participation in education depends on a high level of academic motivation and those high levels are not forthcoming within ostracized populations so long as a positive self-image is not present and re-enforcement of the notion of nobility of person, regardless of ethnic or cultural/social setting is not permitted to go forth. The result is the development of the myth of soul

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or the term negritude. And, it is worthwhile to look at the element in its historical context as we examine educational programs for migrant children, obfuscated by one more term that comes into literature.

We recognize the importance of socio/economic, rural, urban, occupation, and ethnic variables. But, when we load all the variables coming out, we recognize that we don't know much about the children we are trying to educate. When we try to develop a model about a concept such as soul we find it difficult to operationalize; to use as the basis for an education program that meets the needs of the migrant child.

To the degree that it is possible, I would recommend that we stop the kind of development systems that have colored the literature and begin to look specifically at the needs of children in differentiated settings. This is almost impossible to do when we have only six weeks to two months with children coming from one area one year and from somewhere else the next. To develop appropriate kinds of programs requires a stable population and educators who are sensitive to varying learning styles of children and to technologies by which we move children from those early ethnic experience to successful incorporation in the academic system through which they must move.

In response to Dr. Martinez's urging of the use of the media, I would say that if we are to use media, we must be careful of the image we want to be picked up. Media construes and leads to solutions before it clarifies issues. We need to develop long term goals.

Innovative mechanisms have been underutilized, i.e., Cable Television, National Public Television, but they must be used cautiously. We must recognize that simply by going to an innovative mechanism for transmittal of information does not ensure the kind of sensitivity, the appropriate learning technology, the ability to meet learning styles in the larger environment if we are going to enable children to learn to take control over their own lives.

In summary, we do not know. Research is not effective. We know we need to sensitize educators. We don't know how to operationalize. We haven't tapped into the basic research. There is a jaded state of the art.

Mr. Morrison: We live in a nation in which there is no policy on children in general. Efforts to make policy for children and especially poor children have been resisted in the past because of incrementalism and democratic processes by which policy formation goes forth. I am referring to the literature reviewed in Gil Steiner's The Children's Cause, a Brookings Report on failure of this country to come to grips with consistent comprehensive children's policy.

Part of the blame for not having a policy affecting all poor children is that various constituencies representing segments of the poor have kept the issues confused and this has resulted in incrementalism that takes Congress "off the dime" in addressing the core problem of poverty and powerlessness. I will quote from Steiner.

> The children's policy most feasible and desirable is one focussed on poor children, handicapped children and children without permanent homes, unlucky children whose parents cannot provide them with a start equal to that provided most children.
>
> The Commission that makes the most useful contribution is the one instructed to inventory that population--poor, handicapped, homeless. The lobby most needed are those urging programs for the poor, handicapped and those without permanent homes. The social altruist providing the most useful services are those who monitor the actual provision of compensatory benefits and services to unlucky children.
>
> Ultimately, a far more complex universal program may be warranted. It may develop that private families really are not equipped to meet most children's needs, but unless and until that case is more persuasively presented than it has been, a children's policy will be successful enough if it concentrates on ways to compensate, demonstrably, unlucky children whose bodies and minds are sick and whose families are unstable and in poverty.

That statement influenced much of what came out of the Commission on Mental Health's Task Panel on Farm Workers. We cannot talk about self-actualization until children are fed and housed.

At the risk of reading a three-year old Executive Summary from the Task Panel's Report, I am going to do just that.

> It is the conclusion of Panel members that, despite the several billions of dollars that have been spent by the Federal Government over the

past 15 years, American farmworkers and their families still live and work under conditions which are cruel and harsh by any standard: they are ill-housed, ill-clothed, undernourished, face enormous health hazards, are underpaid, underemployed, undereducated, socially isolated, politically powerless, excluded from much of the worker-protective legislation that other American workers take for granted, and unable to compete in the labor market for the higher wages that would permit them to resolve their own problems or ameliorate the bleak reality of their existence. When their most primitive human needs are not met, how can we hope to address their mental health needs? Indeed, to speak of the "mental health needs" of the farmworker seems almost a luxury when their physical and economic needs are so acute and so profound.

And yet, we must speak of their mental health needs, not only because this is our charge, but because it is our view that these needs are frequently the result of systemic stresses which put farmworkers at enormous and continuing disadvantage in our society. Locked in such a terrible cycle of poverty and despair, it is a tribute to their strength and fortitude that they survive at all. But they do survive, and while they do not prosper, our economy prospers as a result of their commitment to their work and to the work ethic. The cost of our failure to meet their needs is measured not only by their suffering; it is measured by the unrealized human resources, the talent and the creativity they could bring to our national life if we opened channels for their participation.

We must ask ourselves, as a Nation, whether we are willing to continue to deny to the farmworker the opportunities for self-fulfillment that are the true measures of mental health. In this Report, the panel has attempted to examine some of the root causes of the social, economic, and emotional stresses under which the farmworker works and lives, and to demonstrate their impact upon the farmworker family.

Our study leads us to believe that while there are obvious merits in any efforts aimed at improving mental health services to the farmworker population, unless such efforts are accompanied by concurrent policies and programs aimed at relieving the economic plight of migrant and seasonal farmworkers, such efforts will be tantamount to planning for failure. The panel shares the conviction of farmworkers' advocates and other familiar with their living and working conditions that economics plays a significant causative role in the manifestation of mental health problems by farmworkers and that any programmatic approach must take this causation into account.

In our view, any efforts at remediating their mental health problems must be concerned not only with symptoms, but with root causes. For this reason, the panel firmly believes that the models of primary preventive mental health services and of social action treatment theory and practice are the models of choice. We assert that the farmworker population represents an especially vulnerable high risk group within the Nation for whom preventive mental health strategies must be developed and implemented to reduce the social and economic stresses to which farmworkers are subjected. It is our view that all Federal programming to meet their needs should address itself to the objectives of integrating them fully into the community and of encouraging their full participation in all programs and policies which affect their lives.

There are many who hold that the failure of Federal programming to meet the needs of migrant and seasonal farmworkers is the result of the lack of coordination and the fragmentation of programs designed to serve them. Others hold that the failure to enforce existing laws intended to protect them is a major cause of their continuing plight. The panel agrees with both of these views, but we also contend that the very lack of a system is itself a kind of system. Certainly the duplication, overlapping, and lack of coordination in Federal programs results in the failure to address farmworkers' needs in any comprehensive manner; and most assuredly, their lives would be improved by the strict enforcement of existing laws. However, these failures must be viewed within a larger framework as part of an unwitting and often irrational system that isolates farmworkers from the mainstream of American life and perpetuates their dependency and powerlessness.

Current Federal categorical programs not only fragment services to farmworkers--they separate them from the rural communities of which they should be a part. Migrants are further separated by their mobility as they travel from place to place in search of employment. They move from one community to another, a part of none, forever outsiders, isolated from the life of the community, living outside its boundaries in filthy labor camps, always moving as the crops ripen and the next harvest beckons. Nor are they able to establish a community within the migrant stream: each season they may travel with different companions, dependent upon the vagaries of weather, crop failures, equipment breakdowns and other factors over which they have no control. Often their families move with them, the children attending one school after another, or working the fields to help the family earn enough money to survive. Schooling at best, is a stop-and-start sporadic process--one from which many drop out, discouraged by what they perceive as their failure, thus decreasing their chances to alter their lives substantially. Their sense of self-worth and self-esteem suffers as a direct result; many come to feel that they are dispensable and of little value.

It is the panel's view that an agricultural system which permits, even unintentionally encourages, the separation of the farmworker from the life of the community is a system which causes more human misery than can be justified under any circumstances. The burden of providing the human services which the farmworker and his family so desperately need falls not upon the employer of the farm laborer but upon the taxpayer, who must assume the cost of providing these services. In no other industry have the economic risks been shifted so directly from management to the public, which must compensate, through the provision of human services, for the abuses which the farmworker endures as a result of the agricultural industry's failure to attend to the needs of its own work force.

Over the years the plight of the farmworker--especially the migrant farmworker--has been brought to public attention with special force. Media documentaries such as Edward R. Morrow's Harvest of Shame and the NBC White Paper: Migrant described with chilling accuracy the conditions of migrant life. While each produced a public outcry, few people have questioned the system itself or the need for our society to depend on migrancy as an essential component of our agricultural system. The panel believes this system must be confronted. We believe that it is within our national capacity to reduce our dependence on migrancy through rigorous studies of agricultural labor supply and demand that will enable us to predict with much greater accuracy the need for agricultural labor for specific crops in specific regions at more or less specific times. We believe it is possible to eliminate much of the migration which produces such stress in the migrant farmworker's life and in the lives of farmworker families, and to begin, as a Nation, to implement programs that have as their goal the integration of the farmworker into American society. We believe the time has come for us to reorder our national priorities to permit the eventual realization of this goal.

The panel recognizes that the goal cannot be realized overnight; perhaps it will not be achieved within our lifetime. However, the public articulation by the Federal Government of a national policy on the farmworker would be an important first step. Such a policy would require a commitment to continue to provide the human services the farmworker clearly needs, and to provide these services to the complete family in a comprehensive, coordinated fashion. It would also require a commitment to a step-by-step process to extend to farmworkers all the human services which are available to the general population. Only when other noncategorical programs are in place to serve farmworkers could categorical programs targeted to meet their needs begin to be phased out. Until that time, such programs must be maintained and improved., unified and coordinated for greater effectiveness.

The stabilization of the farm labor force would ease many of the problems of providing essential human services to the farmworker. The development of community support mechanisms and of preventive social action programs to meet the housing, health, education, and nutritional needs of farmworkers could be comprehensively addressed to a more cohesive population; in turn, farmworkers themselves could be more aware of available services, and could begin to participate politically and organizationally in joint efforts to resolve their problems. No longer isolated, their voices could be heard in the community and at the ballot box. No longer dependent, their reliance on Federal programs to sustain them could come to an end, and they could organize effectively with fellow workers to improve the conditions of their lives.

The panel believes that these present dreams can become reality if the commitment to change exists. And we believe that the public--including responsible growers--will support such a commitment. We believe that the preparation of a comprehensive plan for rural economic development would benefit farmer and farmworker alike, and that the problems of both groups have many common roots. We believe that farmers should receive an adequate return for their investment of time, equipment, and skill. We do not believe that an adequate return on that investment should preclude the payment of decent wages and the provision of decent working conditions to the farmworker, nor do we believe that growers as a group wish to deny to their workers a fair share in the rewards of the agricultural economy. They, like the rest of us, have come to rely on a system which depends on migrancy to keep it working, and they, like other taxpayers, pay their share of the human services the farmworker receives. The inadequacy of these services is documented in this report. Their cost is substantial--indeed, the ultimate cost to the taxpayer is probably much greater than it would be if farmworkers were guaranteed a living wage. A comprehensive rural economic development plan could well include the provision of technical and financial support to those small farmers who would be excessively burdened by providing decent wages and working conditions to their workers. Such a plan could incorporate the needs of both farmer and farmworker, making them allies rather than adversaries.

It is of vital importance that changes in our national policy toward the farmworker be fully developed and publicly articulated. The implementation of such a policy must begin with the creation of a new National Farmworker Office within the Federal Government. Such an agency could begin the process of redirecting our national agricultural priorities as they affect the farmworker and move toward the realization of the long-term goal of integrating the farmworker into the community. Such an agency should coordinate all present categorical programs which serve the farmworker, thereby eliminating the duplication, fragmentation, and lack of coordination of existing programs. This agency should serve as an advocate for farmworkers, pressing for their inclusion into worker-protective legislation from which they are now excluded, and for the strict enforcement of existing laws. It should move toward greater participation of the farmworker in noncategorical programs of assistance, even as it maintains and improves existing programs. It should develop and oversee programs of research into all areas of farmworker needs, including an assessment of mental health needs, and should move for a uniform definition of migrant and seasonal farmworkers common to all programs and to all statistical reporting systems so that no farmworker is excluded from services. It should develop new Federal strategies, forging stronger partnerships with home-base States and encouraging the development of inter-state agreements to assure that the needs of migrants in stream are addressed in a comprehensive manner.

This agency should develop programs for the recruitment and training of bilingual, multicultural professionals and service providers who can address the farmworker's needs with sensitivity and compassion, and should establish linkages with other governmental agencies for the training and recruitment of needed manpower. It should develop broad preventive social action programs which invite and encourage farmworker participation, and should strengthen that participation by encouraging the growth of farmworker advocacy groups within the States and communities where farmworkers live and work. It should evaluate and monitor existing programs to determine their effectiveness, as well as to guide programs and policies toward the realization of the goal of the full integration of the farmworker into our national life. It should develop programs to provide the widest possible range of options in employment and in education for the farmworker so that he, too, can begin to travel that upwardly mobile road other disadvantaged groups in society have traveled before him.

Only when despair is replaced by hope; only when feelings of dependency and powerlessness are converted to those of self-worth and self-esteem; only when the uncertainty and unpredictability that have thus far characterized farmworkers' lives and which place them under such emotional stress are replaced by some degree of certainty that they have a chance to improve their lives, will they be able to reach for self-fulfillment, and will we be able to say that we have truly addressed their mental health needs.

To achieve these goals, the panel recommends the immediate adoption of the following measures:

- The establishment, within the Executive Branch, of a National Farmworker Office at the Cabinet level, to include (but not be limited to) the following responsibilities:

1. The coordination of all farmworker service delivery programs at the Federal level to meet the needs of the total farmworker family;

2. The implementation of national policy for the integration of the farmworker family into the community through the gradual elimination of widespread migrancy and the stabilization of the farm labor force;

3. The establishment of standards for all farmworker programs, and the monitoring and evaluation of such programs;

4. The implementation of policies and programs to strengthen and enforce existing laws intended to protect the farmworker family;

5. The implementation of policies and the development of interagency agreements to guarantee that all farmworker families are included in the benefits of all social legislation to elevate the economic status of the disadvantaged, including their explicit coverage in all programs administered by States or communities with direct or indirect Federal grants;

6. The design and implementation of programs to abolish the present farm labor contractor system and to replace it with a federally monitored alternative (such as hiring halls);

7. The direct operational control of all educational programs to benefit children and youth who are farmworker dependents (including Title I-Migrant, Migrant Headstart, High School Equivalency Program (HEP), and College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP), etc.);

8. The development of programs for the recruitment of training of professional and paraprofessional service providers who are bilingual, multicultural, and sensitive to the environment and needs of farmworkers and their families;

9. The development of programs and policies to extend legal services to farmworkers and their families, including the pursuit of legislation which will permit the farmworker to bring a private cause of action against employers who fail to meet existing standards;

10. The establishment of rigorous research mechanisms for the gathering of statistical and socioeconomic data on farmworkers and their families, utilizing a uniform definition of the target population that is common to all programs. Such research should include needs assessment in health, mental health, nutrition, employment and training, education, etc.[1]

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[1] Executive Summary and Conclusions on Federal Programs for Farmworkers, President's Commission on Mental Health, Washington, 1978.

ALTERNATIVES TO A MIGRANT FARM LABOR SYSTEM

William H. Friedland

The July 1980 strike of garlic harvesters in Gilroy, California epitomizes the situation of agricultural workers in the United States. At one and the same time, the strike demonstrated the unchanging structural patterns of agricultural labor while symbolizing the changes occurring among agricultural workers.

One continuity with the past was made clear when it became known that whole families, including children as young as six, were harvesting garlic (Los Angeles Times, July 31, 1980). The change, made much of in the media, was that these same children were voting in a union representational election. There was a strong overtone of indignation about this: six year old kids voting in a union election? How could children of such a tender age know what was going on? The local official of the State Agricultural Labor Relations Board which conducted the election placed the matter in proper perspective: it may be illegal for children to work in the field, but all people working in the fields are eligible to participate in a representational election.

Thus, the outside world was briefly reminded of the condition of seasonal agricultural workers in the United States. At the same time, and as usual, very little was revealed substantively of the social and economic conditions of the workers. What, in fact, did we learn about garlic harvesters as a result of the strike?

> We learned that there were 2,500 garlic harvesters on strike; that garlic harvesting is a family-based activity since photos in one newspaper showed the family of José Ruelas Cisneros, one of the few families willing to submit themselves to public exposure, husband, wife, four children who worked, two children who were too young to work, and one child of seven who worked "occasionally."

This information was more than matched by the paucity of information about the garlic workers that left us knowing nothing about simple demographics of the garlic workers. Other than that there were 2,500 strikers, no one knew how many families were involved, the size distribution of the

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families, how many days different families and/or family members worked. Indeed, the California State Employment Development Department's Farm Labor Report for the period in question reported a "peak labor requirement" of only 450 workers, significantly discrepant with the figures provided on the number of striking harvesters.

Nor did we know anything about the social origins and backgrounds of the workers other than that they were of Mexican extraction. We learned nothing about how these workers found their way to the fields, dealt with their employers (other than to go on strike), if they had legal documents to be in the United States, where they came from in Mexico, or how long they had been coming. We knew nothing about where they came from immediately before the garlic season nor where they would go once garlic was over.

As is typically the case, we learned nothing about the social relations of garlic harvesters and their employers other than that the workers were on strike, which indicated some dissatisfaction with payment for their labor, and that employers contended that their workers were satisfied except that they had been agitated by the United Farm Workers Union because two crucial events, the garlic harvest and the Gilroy Garlic Festival, were occurring simultaneously

HISTORICAL APPROACHES TO AGRICULTURAL LABOR

The purpose of this paper is not to provide details of a job action by garlic workers in one location and at one time period. There is utility, however, in being reminded that we are dealing not only with human beings but people of special vulnerability; people who have fewer material resources than we who have the capability of attending meetings such as this; people who have few of the symbolic resources that we command, particularly those of education, broad-ranging and/or adaptable, symbolizing skills that are in high demand.

However, the assignment to examine alternatives to the present system imposes the need to abstract from the concrete, specific circumstances of people and their life condition. Before we turn to a consideration of such alternatives, the discussion should be placed in its historical context. It is vital to stress that the employment of agricultural workers in the United States is part of a process of the industrialization of production processes that began with the industrial revolution; that the social process initiated through the industrial revolution created social classes of employers and workers; that continuous struggle has occurred since that time between those two classes.

These general patterns that underline the development of all production and employment have manifested themselves in special and, on the whole, different ways within the agricultural sector. People involved in agriculture have argued that it occupies an exceptional position in society because of the centrality of food production to the world. This argument has been used not only to justify the provision of government-subsidized science production for agriculture but also, during the wave of protective labor legislation of the 1930s, to exclude agricultural workers from coverage under this legislation.

As a result, enormous energies have had to be dedicated, since that time, to the development of legislation and the provision of services for agricultural workers, migrant and seasonal. The work of a host of private organizations, of federal and state legislative committees, and finally of the adoption of legislation, has produced a considerable variety of legislative protection and service delivery systems (Stockburger, 1977). Despite all of these energies, the experiences embodied in the strike of garlic workers demonstrate that relatively little has been accomplished during all these years; that migrant and seasonal agricultural workers still remain at the bottom of the socioeconomic structure of this country. Although many programs have been brought into existence to benefit and serve agricultural workers, few of these programs have had much success.

A key argument of the present paper, therefore, is that the repetition of the approaches of the past will produce no significant change for agricultural workers; that what is needed is a new departure in orientations in which agricultural workers are not served by government or external agencies but that the conditions for resolving their situation are placed in their own hands. The argument, which will be elaborated in the final section of this paper, is that the possibilities for resolving problems of employment of agricultural workers are not unresolvable; that experience has shown that possibilities exist for the regularization and stabilization of employment. Further, it will be contended that the problems of agricultural workers will continue to be intractable until conditions can be created in which agricultural workers are no longer "done for" but, instead, "do for" themselves.

Two fundamental strategies subsume the historical struggles over agricultural labor in the United States. On the one hand, agricultural employers have sought, in many different ways, to keep agricultural wages as low as possible. This strategy has been built, in turn, around two basic policies:

maintaining a continuous flow and oversupply of labor thereby seeking to have agencies other than themselves pay the costs of providing the necessary skills to the labor force through education and training, i.e., the costs of the reproduction of the labor force at a level necessary for the work to be done. The second aspect of this low wage strategy has been built on precluding the possibilities of agricultural workers organizing themselves. While the structural aspects of agricultural employment, i.e., migration and ethnic/racial differences have contributed to impeding organization (Morin 1952), agricultural employers have historically not hesitated to utilize both political power and physical coercion to impede unionism.

On the other hand, workers have sought, in equally myriad ways, to improve wages and working conditions, often involving limiting and controlling the labor supply, to restrict the flow of labor and to create the conditions in which the numbers and skills of workers would be limited and, therefore, in which their conditions of employment could be improved.

Both agricultural employers and workers have sought, therefore, like employers and workers universally, to create the labor market, that mythical location in which employer and worker meet, the one to purchase labor and the other to sell. This point is made to emphasize the notion that the labor market is not some sort of open location in which buyers and sellers meet, a "free bazaar," but rather that the meeting is socially and politically created, that the very location itself reflects the continuous struggle of employers and workers to benefit themselves.[1]

This is neither the time nor the place to review the history of the development of the labor market in capitalist economy: suffice it to note that the labor market has been a socially-constructed phenomenon, not simply a "free" marketplace. As we become more specific, turning to the United States and more particularly to agricultural labor in the United States, we can see how this particular labor market has evolved historically.

First, we should note that agricultural employers were successful for the better part of a century in keeping agricultural labor markets localized and isolated or, in the words of Claude Fisher (1953) "unstructured."

Second, the vulnerability of agricultural labor was emphasized by the political influences that agriculture developed nationally and in many states. This manifested itself in the exclusion of agricultural workers from all of the social legislation won by industrial workers during the upsurges of the 1930s.[2]

Third, the power of agricultural employers was manifested in their ability to continue for almost two decades a wartime emergency program in which the unrestricted flow of labor to agriculture could be systematically organized under conditions that emphasized the vulnerability of workers should they engage in any form of struggle. I refer here, of course, to the bracero program begun during the Second World War and continued until the end of 1964 (Galarza 1964). The bracero program epitomizes the social construction of the labor market in agriculture.

Fourth, two major structural changes created the conditions in which labor could begin to influence the character of the labor market. On the one hand, the increasing complexity of agricultural production, its concentration economically and increased capitalization, introduced a differentiated division of labor and therefore made employers more vulnerable to a withdrawal of skilled labor from production (Friedland and Nelkin 1972). On the other hand, the end of the bracero program symbolized the capacity to mobilize institutional forces, the U.S. unions and the urban liberal population, against the political power of agricultural employers (Jenkins and Perrow 1977) and at the same time created a labor shortage since agricultural employers could no longer depend on an organized, unrestricted flow of labor to themselves.

PAST STRATEGIES

Concern for the situation of agricultural labor has followed various trajectories in the past, dependent on the flow of national politics, public opinion, and occasional perterbations in public consciousness occurring with local disasters such as cremation of some migrants in slum housing or collisions between migrant labor buses and trains. If long-range national policies are examined, however, two basic strategies can be identified.

The strategy of agricultural employers, manifested through a host of private organizations maintained for lobbying and political purposes such as the National Council of Agricultural Employers as well as through the public agency that represents agriculture, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), has been to create the conditions in which the most unrestricted flow of labor possible can be maintained.

This policy has not formally been expressed by the United States government at all times. It was formally articulated at various times in United States history, e.g., when the United States encouraged the immigration of peoples of Asian origins, and at various times when the United States ignored the movement of Mexicans to the United States or formally arranged for such movement through the bracero program (Heizer and Alquist 1971). Since the demise of the bracero program in 1964, while formal United States policy has discouraged such migration, information policy has, in fact, encouraged such movement.[3]

This unrestricted flow policy continues to the present time and is manifested in the continuous demand in agricultural circles for the resuscitation of the bracero program and the extension of the H-2 program to legalize the influx of workers from outside the United States (Martin and North 1979).

A second strategy of United States policy has been directed at a decasualization of agricultural labor. This policy has taken a variety of forms, often by indirection. One major manifestation was developed during the 1950s in the so-called "Annual Worker Plan" (AWP) (U. S. Department of Labor n.d.). Under this plan, the U.S. Department of Labor (USDL), through its Employment Service, sought to schedule the work of migrants so that, as jobs ended in one location, other employment was scheduled in other locations.[4]

By the early 1960s, the USDL's policies with respect to decasualization had become clear: the intention was to create the conditions in which migratory labor would decrease and, if possible, end. Migrant workers would be encouraged to stop moving and to settle in northern locations.[5] The AWP and similar kinds of arrangements did not work well, however. What has characterized USDL policy, albeit inadvertently, since the mid-1960s has been the encouragement of agricultural mechanization. This can be seen in the support given to a major conference sponsored at Michigan State University in 1968 and the support given to the Rural Manpower Center at the University during the 1960s by the USDL.[6]

At the same time, similar encouragements were developing elsewhere. As the bracero program came under increasing attack, agricultural engineers continued their traditional practice of designing machines that would replace agricultural workers.[7] This policy, enthusiastically supported by the USDA and the land-grant institutions, was not formally endorsed by the USDL which took a position akin to that of "benign neglect" with respect to the agricultural mechanization issue.

While many orientations are possible with respect to agricultural mechanization, there is no doubt that it has very important consequences for labor. The most serious of these is a decline in the number of workers employed. Displacement effects of agricultural mechanization can be incremental but also can be, as in tomato harvesting, dramatically transformational. Another consequence is to create a small but permanently employed labor force. Because a mechanized system is highly capital intensive, it demands relatively skilled workers with considerable responsibilities. This creates situations in which workers are employed on a year-round (or near year-round) basis since there usually is enough work to keep them busy most of the time and since the cost of labor, as a factor of production, drops with respect to other factors. Thus a hughly mechanized system in agriculture fits with the decasualization policy of the USDA.

The two de facto policies of the U.S. government, while in a sense contradictory, represent complementary policies since the transiton from a labor intensive to a capital intensive agriculture is slow and incremental. No system as complex and as varied as that of agriculture can make a transition rapidly. Even within specific commodities such as cotton, the transition to mechanized harvesting was lengthy and delayed (Street 1957).

Technological transitions affecting agricultural workers, however, are not limited to mechanization. Many recent technological developments eliminating labor involve non-mechanical processes. Herbicide application, for example, eliminates requirements for weeding, an activity often carried on by workers. It is well to keep in mind that the elimination of opportunities for work by agricultural workers can be a product of non-mechanical technology application as well as agricultural mechanization.

Since agriculture still requires a substantial volume of seasonal labor, the problems of agricultural workers not only remain with us but are often exacerbated by mechanization. This is because many workers have developed personal "annual worker plans" in which they maintain a network of contacts in different crops to keep themselves employed through most of the annual cycle. The mechanization of one segment of their employment pattern and consequent displacement places their annual income in jeopardy. This is an issue to which I will return later in this paper.

The two policies outlined above represent the historic realities of agricultural labor in the United States. I turn now to one major alternative, theoretically always present but, in fact, only a partial and very limited reality during the past 15 years: agricultural unionism.

Although struggles for organization have been numerous for the past century (Jamieson 1945), it has only been since the mid-1960s that significant, continuous, agricultural unionism has taken hold. Until the end of the bracero program the flow of labor in agriculture was such that it was effectively impossible to construct continuous unionism. Morin's (1952) analysis of the structural features necessary for unionism and their absence in U.S. agriculture and Fisher's (1953) discussion of the lack of structure in the agricultural labor market represented appropriate explanations for the nonexistence of agricultural unionism in the United States.

Various attempts at organization, particularly those modelled after the factory precluded successful organization. (London and Anderson 1970: Chapter 3), As Galarza (1977) has shown, despite the best of attempts, the continuous flow of labor through the bracero program precluded unionism.

The end of the bracero program was therefore a sine qua non for organizing farm workers. In and of itself, however, this was a necessary but not sufficient condition. What was required was a totally new strategy "invented," in effect by Cesar Chavez in California. This approach did not build on the conflict model embodied in traditional union organizing; rather it developed a model in which the organizer creates bonds of solidarity based on the life circumstances of farmworkers while avoiding conflict with employers (Friedland 1981).

Chavez succeeded in organizing farm workers through this new approach based essentially on a new theory but building on two additional principles:

1. Incorporation of the social climate of the 1960s into the organizing strategy (Jenkins and Perrow 1977). This involved not only the development of media events such as the peregrinación on Sacramento but the awakening of a consciousness of social responsibility (or guilt) while calling on people to make small sacrifices such as not eating grapes or not shopping at supermarket chains such as Safeway.

2. Utilizing students (and others) as a renewable resource. As the anti-war movement grew during the 1960s, service with the United Farm Workers (UFW) became an institutionalized means for students to participate in "movement" activities. Although many "burned out," they were easily replaced.

The successful unionism of the UFW, however, paradoxically has impeded the expansion of this approach. Although the UFW would like to be national, it is, in fact, a regional organization concentrated in California despite maintaining offices elsewhere. Because of the centrality of Chavez' leadership and his personal style, the union has tended to concentrate on one issue at a time with all resources being committed to that issue. The consequences have been paradoxical. On the one hand, Chavez constructed the first, continuous, permanent organization of farmworkers. The UFW has won contracts and unquestionably improved the standard of living of farmworkers in California as a result. On the other hand, because of the reluctance to incorporate farm workers under national legislation and thereby give up the boycott weapon, the UFW has opposed inclusion of farmworkers under the National Labor Relations Act.[8]

There have been other consequences as a result of Chavez' organizing style. Because of his Cali-centrism, Chavez has continually undermined initial efforts at organizing in other locations. Most notable was in Texas where Antonio Orendain was originally sent to organize on behalf of the UFW. When called on several times to abandon Texas to respond to various crises of the UFW, Orendain finally refused and continued organizing on his own, thereby giving rise to the Texas Farmworkers Union (Garcia 1979).

A similar development occurred with the Maricopa County Organizing Project in Arizona, giving rise to an Arizona farmworkers union. Other developments have now taken place in Ohio, Florida, and several other states.

All of these efforts are significant spinoffs of the original UFW approach but suffer by being eclipsed by the UFW. Chavez and the UFW have captured the liberal imagination (even though, by this time, this imagination is jaded) thereby making it difficult for other farmworker organizations to find wide support among urban liberals.

The possibilities for farm worker unionism, in summary, are present but still only weakly. Undoubtedly as mechanization continues, the prospects for agricultural worker unionism will increase although the numbers of potential members will drop precipitously

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR FARM WORKERS

In view of the many experiences and experiments on behalf of seasonal agricultural workers and migrants and the fact that so little has been accomplished despite so many heroic efforts, it requires a special exercise in chutzpah (sheer, unmitigated gall) to project new approaches. It should be clear that the problem of agricultural labor is inordinately difficult, if not intractable; yet the success of the UFW and other experiences that will be discussed below demonstrate that possibilities do exist. Some approaches will be explored in the remainder of this paper.

Two distinct approaches will be suggested. First, it is possible to draw on a number of concrete experiences to demonstrate that it is feasible to plan and schedule the work activities of agricultural laborers in ways that maximize their employment over longer periods approximating the yearly cycle. This is one way, in other words, to encourage decasualization. Second, I will argue that many of the experiments conducted on behalf of agricultural workers have been doomed by the principle I referred to earlier as "do-ferism."

Models for Decasualization in Agricultural Employment

The possibility for decasualizing agricultural labor may have many limitations; the fact that agricultural activity is seasonal, that there are different levels of demand for labor at different seasons of the year, sets important structural limits on decasualization. Experience in varying circumstances, however, indicates that these constraints are not insuperable; given certain conditions, it is feasible to obtain significant changes in the organization of the agricultural labor process.

Historically, it should be noted, for example, that even though an excess of labor was available in southern California during the early development of the citrus industry, growers found it advantageous to rationalize the harvest labor process. Williamson (1947) notes that, by the 1870s, orange growers developed the habit of selling the crop "on the tree" to commercial buyers who then organized the harvest, packing, and marketing of the fruit (pp. 2-3). Dissatisfaction with this system led to explorations in cooperative organization. With this change, the cooperative rather than the grower harvested the crop and therefore became the employer of labor. The dominance of the cooperative over the harvest process has continued to the present time.

Citrus is, admittedly, an unusual commodity by agricultural standards since it is storable, to a considerable degree, on the tree. This led, prior to the Second World War, to considerable stabilization of the citrus labor force. When Mexican labor became available in large supply through the bracero program, many citrus organizations availed themselves of this supply. Once the bracero program was ended, the experience of the Coastal Growers Association (CGA) labor cooperative demonstrated the capacity of growers to organize themselves to rationalize the labor supply. Since growers found themselves with an unsteady and unreliable labor force, they organized a labor cooperative which undertook the recruitment of workers, the organization of crews, payment, and development of auxiliary services including vacation pay and housing but not including supervision and direction of the actual harvest process, which remained the responsibility of the grower, CGA was very successful in stabilizing the labor force by providing a lengthy season of employment, predictable earnings, and many fringe benefits.[9]

Glover (1980) has shown, based on studies of labor markets in citrus, that the possibilities for decasualization are very good. In addition to the CGA example, Glover cites the experience in Florida with Coca Cola's Minute Maid operations and other experiences that have produced decasualization in citrus.

The experiences in citrus and the development of CGA, however, are perhaps more profound than has been indicated by those scholars who have focused on the unusual character of CGA. The CGA is unusual and deviant and, therefore, interesting but it is often explained, especially in personal conversations, as being attributable to the intervention of one person, i.e., the manager of CGA. The analysis of CGA and citrus by Dolp (1968), however, suggests that agricultural producers can, if they so desire, plan and schedule the utilization of labor in ways that can maximize earnings potentials of their workers but prefer not to do so.

Dolp's study, also concerned with decasualization, sets out five organizational means for stabilizing agricultural employment. These include the growers' labor association, the farm labor contractor, the farm placement service, the farm labor cooperative, and the labor union. At the moment, we are concerned solely with the first, the growers' labor association.

Dolp points out (4-11) that grower associations for labor recruitment mushroomed during the bracero period when the Mexican government required that there be a guarantee of minimum employment. Although the minimum required may not have been very significant, only "Some employers were sufficiently large and diversified to meet this requirement individually; more commonly, individual growers found it necessary to pool their labor needs and meet this requirement as a group" (5). As a result, by 1956, there were 54 such associations representing 10,523 growers (5). These withered to 38 such organizations in 1964, the year the bracero program ended, and subsequently most, if not all, of these organizations disappeared.

This experience demonstrates the feasibility of growers working out schedules to satisfy some minimum guarantee requirements with respect to length of employment and earnings. As long as the price of labor was sufficiently attractive, growers were capable of self-organization to provide a flow of employment to workers. Without the bracero program, however, growers preferred to depend on a middleperson, the farm labor contractor, to resolve recruitment and management problems. The principle remains clear, however: it is feasible to organize work schedules to provide sustained employment necessary for some degree of labor stabilization.

These experiences ca be expanded to other agricultural commodities. Our research in lettuce (Friedland, Barton and Thomas 1978), for example, shows how year-round decasualized employment has developed in a commodity very different from citrus. Although lettuce is a fragile crop, harvesting is a continuous process in which most workers are employed on a year-round basis. Lettuce harvesting did not always work this way; the process underwent a major transition at the end of the bracero program when lettuce grower-shippers had to confront the end of their unrestricted labor supply. The initial reaction was to mechanize the harvest and research was quickly funded toward this end.

Before a machine could be developed, a new largely undeliberate labor process emerged in lettuce. This consisted of the organization of a self-regulating and self-recruiting crew based on Mexican workers who were transformed from braceros to "green-card" workers. Grower-shippers initially "nominated" former braceros. These workers began to draw friends, neighbors, and relatives into their crews as vacancies occurred. Thus emerged the self-recruited crew which also undertook to regulate itself with respect to production norms and other working conditions.

Lettuce harvesting became well paid, especially when compared to other seasonal agricultural employment. It was also extremely hard work, with workers "burning out" after 5-10 years. The work, however, was "annualized" since lettuce production continues in California and Arizona for 52 weeks out of the year. Harvesters follow the crop but are able to establish stable bases for their families in communities such as Mexicali and Salinas, often commuting to their homes on weekends when the season is at a distance from their homes. While, by administrative definition, these workers are classified as migrants, they were and are a far cry from other seasonal workers who fulfill the stereotyped symbolism of that term.

There is no contention that lettuce is a "typical" agricultural commodity. Yet the principle involved in this example can be extracted: it is possible to organize year-round employment in a fragile and unstorable crop that must be harvested with dispatch. And, wages can be quite high, despite enormous fluctuations in lettuce prices, to attract an unusually hard working labor force.

The final example of how problems can be resolved with respect to the organization of the labor force is derived from a very different set of circumstances where there has been no decasualization; where, in fact, a labor force was created that was not only casual but stable.

This labor force was formed in the transition to mechanized harvesting of processing tomatoes. During the bracero period, tomatoes for processing were harvested by 50,000 Mexican workers. When the braceros were cut off, growers had a harvesting machine and a machine harvestable tomato that had been through a lengthy process of development. Without braceros growers shifted rapidly to the machine system but were still confronted by the need for many workers since even the 18,000 workers ultimately required constituted a major problem for tomato growers.

The solution was to develop a completely new labor supply. Whereas domestic workers had previously been avoided by the tomato growers, in desperation they developed a new labor force out of temporary workers, drawing on housewives and students. What had previously been an all-male Mexican labor force became a heavily female labor force drawn entirely from the United States.

Again, the example is less important than the principle that can be extracted from this case: it is feasible to develop a new labor force given the right conditions and circumstances and incentives.

Taken together, these experiences demonstrate that is is feasible to develop longer periods of employment that can contribute to decasualization, that these periods need not be exclusively related to the characteristics of the commodity produced, and that differing part-time labor arrangements can be developed and contribute to the stabilization of the labor force.

Doing Away with "Do-ferism"

Earlier, "do-ferism" was defined as being the condition in which government "does for" people by providing them with services rather than creating the conditions in which people can do for themselves. Further, it was contended that people, especially poor people and those without power, are not so much "done for" as done. That is, when services are organized on behalf of groups, if those groups are unable to wield power to control the services organized on their behalf, the very entities created to serve become concerned with control.

"Do-ferism" has been a fundamental principle since the invention of laissez faire in the early stages of capitalism. This is the principle that the government ought to "do-fer" people to take care of their situation, whatever that situation is. I associate it with the invention of laissez faire since that principle of government represented a break with past tradition, i.e., government was asked to "do-fer" entrepreneurs by freeing trade so that British trade could penetrate everywhere. Subsequent developments have seen governments doing-fer all kinds of people; during the 1930s, with a working class in massive rebellion, the New Deal "did-fer" many lower-income people; this also occurred during the hectic days of the 1960s. Government, however, also "does-fer" business as, for example, in the current discussion about re-industrialization when arguments are made in favor of tax relief to permit higher profit-taking for reinvestment

I will contend, however, that do-ferism has been singularly unsuccessful when addressed to poor people; that those that do-fer invariably end up doing for themselves rather than for their clients.[10]

This situation stands in sharp contrast to the establishment of government agencies created around the turn of the century to control the depredations of robber barons entrepreneurs and subsequently of corporate enterprises.[11] The principles involved in these cases are no longer very startling: them as has, gets done for; and them that have not, get done.

It is to this last condition, which characterizes the circumstances of farm workers, that attention must be addressed if we are not to surrender to the intractability of the problem. At the same time, it is vital that it be understood that comment, research, and analysis of the condition of agricultural labor is not new. While we should unquestionably know more than we do, the basic information about agricultural labor exists. Further, the search for solutions is not new. Even before Ed Murrow brought the migrant labor issue to public consciousness in 1960 in his television documentary, Harvest of Shame, various agencies of government, particularly the USDL, were aware of the problem and that something had to be done about it. The various plans, commissions, state committees, and the Farm Employment Service, all were directed at "doing something" about a nagging national issue.

Thus, attempts at "solutions" must be hastened by the historical facts of previous attempts. Any solution proposed to resolve problems for poor people, for those who are defenseless and unable to organize, will not only fail but will benefit social categories other than those that need help.

One additional point must be made before turning to some suggested solutions. Seasonal agricultural workers and migrants are not present here today. This does not mean, however, that seasonal agricultural workers are speechless or cannot articulate their situation. Nor does it mean that they do not have a detailed understanding of their social situation, of employment, of the character of their lives. Not all of them may have an understanding in depth of the totality of their socioeconomic existence but most, particularly those that have spent time working at agricultural labor, have an understanding in depth that transcends that of "experts" such as myself.

There is a fundamental failure by "experts" and "technicians" to grasp this point. It might be made clear by telling you about several farm workers that I talked to recently. These were workers who were working or had worked in grapes. One worker, whom I will call José, explained how he found employment. He maintained a personal telephone directory of about 50 names of contractors and growers. Keeping track of development of the season, he would begin telephoning as time drew near for a particular activity in grapes production. He was acutely aware of the need to telephone early and of the importance of calling back; you had to call four or five times, with sufficient frequency to irritate employers so that they would give you work, if only to get you off their backs. José knew that foremen preferred that people not build up seniority and preferred to rotate people through jobs and he built this into his job search program.

But suppose, I asked José, you were new to an area? I asked this because José had worked for 18 years as an agricultural worker and had lived in the present area for some time. What did migrants or undocumented workers do? New arrivals, José responded, tapped into information networks by going to bars, looking for "friends," people from home regions or areas in Mexico or people they had encountered while in movement. They also got telephone numbers from them. In this migrant subculture, while people can be competitive and secretive, they are more often helpful, especially if some sort of social claim such as area or origin is placed upon them.

Did José ever use the agency of government which had been explicitly created to help him find work? Not very often because, in all of his experience, he had only gotten work twice through the Employment Development Department. He relied, rather, on his more reliable self-developed information network.

Discussions with other workers showed similar ingenuity. One way to explain the ingenuity of agricultural workers, perhaps, is to ask you to mentally take their place. You have come from somewhere in Mexico on the basis of word-of-mouth explanations about the opportunities to the north. You have successfully crossed the border and find yourself in a California or Colorado agricultural community. You may or may not have papers; and if you do, the papers may be of poor, indifferent, or excellent quality, dependent on how much money you had to purchase them and the honesty of the crook who sold them to you. You may or may not have the name of a relative or someone from your home area. You have to find employment, shelter, and protection. You do not speak the language of the country you are in and are unable to read signs in that language.

During the 1960s when people were being prepared for Peace Corps experiences in esoteric cultures, one standard training adventure was to drop people 50 miles from home base with only a dime in their pockets. Many showed ingenuity in finding their way home and we always admired their ability to do this, usually attributing it to the imaginative qualities of young people. Others did poorly and had to use their dimes to make collect calls to bail them out and we had less respect for them.

These experiences are cited to remind us that, for thousands of immigrants who come to work in agricultural labor, a similar experience is not a training exercise. It is an experience in reality with considerable consequences. It behooves us to understand the ingenuity and capability that people manifest in these life experiences. From our perspective, it is necessary to recognize that people involved as agricultural migrants have enormous expertise and understanding of how their social system works; an expertise that is almost never tapped or utilized in any sensible way.

If explorations are to be initiated to develop alternatives to the present system, a fundamental principle must underlie such attempts: agricultural workers need not be "done for;" rather conditions must be created in which agricultural workers will do for themselves.

Let me suggest, by way of example, one area which confounds and befuddles administrators and scholars of the agricultural labor phenomenon. These are the ostensibly simple questions: how many seasonal agricultural workers are there, where do they work, how do they move through space and find employment? Present data sources leave much to be desired. I will not begin a scholarly analysis of the deficiencies in the data sources. Suffice it to note that data on agricultural workers are collected by a multiplicity of agencies with the result that confusion reigns complete. In the federal government alone, two agencies, the USDL and USDA, operate in this area. Each of the states has its own system. In California, for example, the numbers of workers are synthesized by estimating the labor hours necessary for operations in different commodities. By knowing the acreages, it is then possible to synthesize the "numbers working." No one, of course, has the faintest idea as to the actual numbers of people employed. Problems of data sources are demonstrated in a study conducted by Hernandez (1978) comparing USDA and EDD figures on farm employment in California. The study shows that there is usually little relationship between figures developed by each agency. In the sixteen-year period between 1960 and 1976, there are similarities in the estimates for only six years.

In Florida, reporting of agricultural employment varies between commodities. "Each Rural Manpower Representative is responsible for deriving his/her own 'best estimate' of employment." Citrus employers are contacted through a sampling procedure which includes most of the large citrus growers. Since citrus is the largest agricultural employer, the Department of Labor and Employment Security regard these figures as being reliable. Since most sugar cane workers are from off-shore, their numbers are very accurate. Estimates in other crops, however, depend on the contacts that Rural Manpower representatives have with growers of various crops in different areas and are, therefore, less reliable. "Thus, the larger the employment reported by crop, the more accurate is the estimate, generally speaking" (personal communication, Feb. 4, 1980).

My purpose here is to indicate the imprecision that exists in knowing the numbers of agricultural workers in different places. Further, it should be obvious that knowledge about workers' backgrounds, earnings, employment and mobility patterns, and the degree to which families are involved in agriculture is completely unknown. Yet without having such base information, how can effective national and state policies be developed?

Part of the problem in developing reliable data derives from lack of funding and the multiplicity of agencies involved. But even if money flowed in overabundance, given the present organization of data collection, I believe it would not be possible to generate accurate data. As is the case with the United States Census, there are too many people who have reasons for avoiding being enumerated and too many people involved in data collection who have little interest in the data collection process.

Let me suggest an approach to a solution to this problem consistent with the principle of avoiding "do-ferism."[12] Let us not find money and hire specialists and technicians to enumerate farmworkers; let us, instead, create a research activity in which farmworkers themselves collect and report on the numbers of people working. Experienced farmworkers have only partial access to sources of information and data, but, considering their limitations, they do very well, as illustrated by José, in knowing about what work is going on and where. Can a research organization be created which involves farmworkers, gives them access to existing data sources, but also draws on their experience and knowledge base in developing and extending the knowledge resource base?[13]

Pursuing this notion, this means that other activities undertaken on behalf of agricultural workers should not be created by experts, technicians, or other "outsiders" doing something for workers; rather it means that government create the conditions in which agricultural workers can do something for themselves.

What is being suggested here is not only a new approach but one which requires considerable experimentation. Were there to be any implementation of the kind of approach being suggested here, it would probably be found that different groups of farmworkers would have different ideas about their problems and how to go about dealing with them.

The development of different experiments would permit attempts at understanding the complex nature (and variations) in conditions affecting farmworkers. Such experiments could release the creative energies that most human beings express when confronted by dilemmas.

CONCLUSION

No social problem is intractable.

While the United States seems to be surrounded by social problems--urban decay, racism, the decline in public morality, and migrant agricultural labor, among others--there is a tendency to shrug the national shoulders and return to individual withdrawal.

Most problems are "intractable" because "solutions" are invented by "experts" who then become part of the problem themselves, to use a cliche invented in the 1960s. Yet human ingenuity, when harnessed by self-interest and social concern, is almost boundless.

The celebrated "farm problem" of the 1920s and 1930s has, in effect, been solved. Its resolution involved the annihilation of the rural, agricultural population and the creation of conditions in which the miniscule number of farmers still left in production now earn an "annual wage" which can support them. Many, of course, have also grown into large-scale enterprises and, in additional cases, non-agricultural firms have integrated their activities backward into agricultural production.

The two alternatives suggested in this paper, decasualization and involving farm workers in the solution to their own problems, require a recognition of the fact that there are many different kinds of farm workers. In particular, in every major production location where seasonal farmworkers are located there can be found a category of workers that I would refer to as "professional farmworkers," people like José who make their living at farm labor. Such professionals often want to do farm labor or may do it because there are no alternatives open to them, but they do their work well and professionally. Any experiments oriented to a search for solutions must recognize and incorporate the skills, knowledge and understanding of such professionals.

Let me add one final word before closing.

In thinking about alternatives to the present system found in agricultural labor, it would be well not simply to limit the analysis, as I have done by accepting the parameters of existing agriculture as given, but to raise fundamental questions about the production systems that give rise to seasonal agricultural labor and its concomitant problems.

A major cause of these problems rests with the conversion of small-scale agriculture into massive agribusiness organizations. These units are the major employers of seasonal labor although many smaller units can be found still nestling between the large corporate enterprises in agriculture. Given the present organization of our economy, it seems highly unlikely that there will be a return to smaller units of production. As long as economic concentration continues in agriculture, it is likely that we are going to be dealing with smaller numbers of larger farms. This situation will, in fact, resolve part of the problem of seasonal labor but only part. Until the cost, in human lives, of harvesting fruits and vegetables can be built into the actual costs of production, there is likely to be little fundamental change in the present system of seasonal labor.

Recognition of this basic social fact implies either that these costs can be built into a profit making system and passed on to consumers, as has been the case with most other commodities, or that different arrangements can be developed in which the human labor involved does not have to become simply another factor in a profit making system on which additional profit must be made. This alternative requires a critical examination of the basis of the present economic system, something that I have avoided discussing in this paper. Without such fundamental questioning, I fear that present arrangements will largely continue, even if some incremental improvements are registered around the fringes of the system.

Notes

[1] This point is made notably with respect to agricultural workers by Thomas 1980 and for industrial labor by Burawoy 1979.

[2] The record of this exclusion is often forgotten and, indeed, is not very well covered in the literature; see, for example, Booth 1973 and Derthick 1979. Agricultural workers were completely excluded from social security legislation (adopted in 1935) until and then only incrementally covered; from minimum wage legislation (adopted in 1938) until 1967 and when they were finally included it was under considerably restricted conditions (Comptroller General 1973); and agricultural workers continue to be excluded from coverage under the National Labor Relations Act although the reasons for that exclusion have changed somewhat in the past five years. It is also worth remembering that an effective minimum wage for agricultural workers was established in California by the legal subterfuge of regulating the wages of women and children (but not men) through California's Industrial Welfare Commission.

[3] This is not the place for lengthy discussion about what the United States government "intends" with respect to Mexican (or Central American) immigration to the United States. Suffice it to note that population movement is so great that there is almost universal acceptance of the idea that western service industries and sunbelt agriculture would be crippled if all undocumented workers were to be removed from the country. This indicates the political contribution to the construction of the so-called "secondary" labor market of the dual labor market theorists, i.e., the low-income sector.

[4] To my knowledge, there never has been an external evaluation of the Annual Worker Plan. In our experience in conducting research in New York and New Jersey in the mid-1960s (Friedland and Nelkin 1967, 1971; Friedland 1971), the AWP degenerated into an annual trip by northern USES workers to Florida to meet with crew leaders and to work out schedules for the move into northern migrant labor camps and employment. These activities occurred at the behest of northern agricultural employers but were directed, in the south, at crew leaders rather than at workers. Our research in the northeast showed that USES workers resolved the difficult problem of reaching workers by using intermediaries, the crew leaders. This created the situation in which the crew leaders became the fundamental controllers (and exploiters) of the migrant labor system, buttressed not only by the growers but by government agencies.

[5] This policy was sufficiently stringent that the writer was discouraged from seeking research funds by the USDL agency since the intent of the research was to understand the institutional character of the migrant labor system. Because I refused to focus on the transitional process, i.e., settling into the urban north and adapting to urban settings, research support was ended.

[6] The conference eventuated in a three volume work published by the Rural Manpower Center of MSU (Cargill and Rossmiller 1969a, 1969b, 1970) and a series of studies published by the Center dealing with employment, human relations, and agricultural mechanization, and how labor could be fitted into a new capital-intensive, agricultural production system. See, for example, Brown 1967; Cain 1967; Voland 1968; and Wright 1969.

[7] The replacement of labor by capital, i.e., machinery, is an historic tendency in industrial society to which agriculture is no exception. Replacement of labor by tools and machinery is thus a continuing process. See, for example, Partridge 1973; Holbrook 1955. For a discussion of the development of the professional association of agricultural engineers and their activities in United States agriculture see Stewart 1979. While the transition from labor to capital occurred continuously, the end of the bracero program intensified research to facilitate the transition in states such as California where specialty agriculture was particularly labor intensive and therefore dependent on bracero labor. It is impossible to relate the plethora of technological research put underway because of the threat to bracero labor. In California this included the mechanical tomato harvesting system (Rasmussen 1968; Schmitz and Seckler 1970; Friedland and Barton 1975, 1976) and the development of a mechanized lettuce harvester (Friedland, Barton, and Thomas 1978). Mechanization research was also pushed heavily in other production commodities.

[8] The peculiar condition has therefore emerged in which the UFW finds itself in agreement with the California Farm Bureau in opposing inclusion of farmworkers under the NLRA, although for different reasons. Chavez does not want to lose the boycott weapon whereas the Farm Bureau wants a distinctive labor relations act for agriculture to be administered through the USDA. California gricultural interests have pressed for NLRA coverage, arguing that California agriculture is disadvantaged since it is covered under a state act and that labor costs are therefore cheaper in other states such as Arizona and Texas. Arizona has an act but it was written at the growers' behest and thus represents their interests; Texas has no such act nor does Florida. See, for example, the debate on representational coverage by agricultural spokespersons in The Packer, May 21, 1977.

[9] On the CGA see Rosedale and Mamer 1976. The situation also contributed ultimately to the organization of the CGA workers into the UFW, an event that came as a shock to the CGA which had regarded the cooperative as precluding the necessity for unionism. For an update on CGA after the UFW representational election victory see Mamer and Rosedale 1980.

[10] An interesting concept developed in sociology is that of "unanticipated consequences" (Merton 1936; Selznick 1953). This notion holds that planned social actions are invariably upset by the incapacity of society or groups to envision the complex contingencies involved in social change. While the concept has considerable validity, it is interesting to note that in the first case study in which the concept was applied, to the Tennessee Valley Authority, it was the rich farmers who benefited while the poor farmers suffered. Other examples of "unanticipated consequences" are similar: e.g., the poverty program of the 1960s benefited the "poverty warriors" rather than the poor.

[11] See, for example, McConnel 1970 who shows how the regulatory agencies became captives of the economic interests they were assigned to regulate. In its most recent manifestation, Three Mile Island has reminded us that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission is closer to the reactor fabrication and electrical power industries than it is to the folks that live down-wind from Three Mile Island.

[12] I draw here from an informal proposal developed for discussion purposes by my colleague Amy Barton.

[13] While this notion may seem strange, the notion of incorporating the people being "studied" into the research process

is not unknown. Joan Moore (1978), for example, has utilized Chicano prisoners as researchers. An Italian colleague, Vittorio Capecchi, has built his research process in the Bologna metal workers union around shop activists.

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COMMENTS ON THE PAPER "ALTERNATIVES TO A MIGRANT FARM LABOR SYSTEM"

Robert W. Glover

By way of introduction, I would like to say that, unlike most people here, I have worked on problems of agricultural employment only for about two years and on a part-time basis at that. That has some advantages as well as some disadvantages. I still have a fresh blush of enthusiasm about the area. I don't have the kind of jaded cynicism which can be developed after many years of frustration in working with the area. I have some naivete, I presume, but perhaps I can bring some fresh ideas. Also, I have been in the area long enough to see how complex it is and to know that it requires substantial commitment to work through some of these issues.

Bill's paper is a real service to this group. It is a stimulating paper. It has prompted me to think seriously about some assumptions I had made. Also, for you who are not familiar with Bill's work on agricultural workers, I would recommend it to you. He is conducting work at a level which is very important, namely: commodity by commodity. And that is the level of research that really makes sense in studying agricultural labor markets. Not enough of this sort of research has been done.

I want to be frank about my biases in this area. I heard a lot of talk yesterday--there seems to be revulsion against fragmented social programs that are aimed at seasonal and migrant farmworkers and that the government is tripping over itself and so on. The entrance of the government apparently has also caused volunteers to pull out of the area. I would prefer to have to rely neither on government agencies nor volunteers to improve the welfare of farmworkers. I would prefer to see the private sector get more involved in this area and assume greater responsibilities.

The root of the matter is the way in which agricultural markets operate. Right now agriculture relies on a captive labor force, and that is a system that serves neither workers nor employers. Employers, for their part, say, "We can't find adequate supplies, either of quality or quantity of labor." And workers cannot find adequate income to be able

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to stay in agriculture as a viable career. It seems to me there is something fundamentally wrong with a system that serves neither employer nor workers. Further, there are some things which could be done which would serve both groups--things that could be done in terms of changing the system.

I want to make one point at this juncture. Not all employers are the same. In the brief work that I have done, I have been struck by the diversity of practices even within the same crop. On the one hand, there are employers who have fairly sophisticated personnel systems and who treat their workers decently and with dignity and respect and pay them well. On the other, there exist employers who, in fact, have been convicted of slavery this year. It seems to me that there is something to be learned just by studying this diversity. I would like to see the work on the "Harvest of Shame" supplemented with some documentation on the "Harvest of Pride" --material that focuses on exemplary employment practices and how they can be replicated. Many in this room would like to use the media to develop public outrage in this area. It seems to me the media could be involved also in educating farm employers to alternative ways they can do business and that these alternatives work and apparently are being carried out at a competitive cost. And that is a key point

Bill Friedland pointed out that workers do have an expertise that we ought to tap into. This is a good point, but workers have a piece of it only. Further, input from employees would be useful in one case and not in another. For example, in agriculture, compensation tends to be by piece rates in many crops. Piece rates are set for non-rational reasons in a lot of areas. Piece rates are not devised in a sophisticated enough way to even provide equal pay for equal effort. For example, in some areas no matter how high the trees or how dense the fruit is on the tree or how easy to pick, workers get the same rate. As a result, workers avoid bad groves. Employers then say there is a labor shortage, that they can't get enough labor to pick fruit crops. It is really rational worker response to an irrational compensation system.

In devising a rational piece rate system, worker input is essential. Success in devising a more sensible piece rate system will require that workers view the system as fair. The best way to assure this is to involve worker participation into developing the system. How much should the differential be to use a ladder as opposed to not using a ladder? That is a very appropriate place for worker input.

On the contrary, an example of an issue where worker input should be ignored is the way in which workers are paid. Many workers prefer to be paid by cash at the end of the day. I would oppose this completely. Paying daily in cash is convenient, not documented, and thus workers don't have to pay taxes. But it is also a system which is subject to all sorts of abuse and corruption. And from a broader perspective, not just worker's perspective, I would try to eliminate that kind of practice completely. In summary, I think workers have a role in devising new practices. Employers also have to be involved, and what we ought to do is to find some of the better ones and get them involved in this process.

Despite Bill's concern about do-fer-ism, the government also has a role here. The do-fer-ism section in Bill's paper is disconcerting. It is the sort of catchy broad ideological phrase that has appeal and some truth in it. But the issue is more complicated. There are good programs and bad programs, and there is a role for public enterprise in this process. One example is the Labor Standards Enforcement role. I think we can agree that this is an appropriate public role.

I do see other roles for government. I think that it is really naive to think that individual workers and employers can get the problem solved without external help. But we might do well to look back at the "maximum feasible participation" experiences in the War on Poverty and assess the successes and failures.

It seems to me that the rise of the labor contractor system and its persistence as an institution, despite years of outcry, really demonstrates that the labor contractor plays a role as a very functional institution--functional for workers and for growers despite the problems that have been pervasive. What this says to me is that workers do need help in the intermediation process. If we leave workers on their own completely and pull out public enterprise in this area, a disservice will be created.

I was disappointed in the suggestion presented at the end of Bill Friedland's paper. To engage workers in a research process to simply count farmworkers really is not going to go very far in solving problems. We do need better numbers. But of what use is the information? Even if current information is wrong by a factor of three: that is, there are three times more farmworkers than we expected there are, what has this gotten us? We need to go further than just count farmworkers.

We really need to get into some system changes and particularly in the area of labor markets and human resources in agriculture. I think that is where efforts ought to be focused. It is going to be very complex. I'll give you one example of where I think it is going to be difficult. There has been a lot of favorable talk about decasualization of agricultural work. I want to point out that if we look closely at the history of the decasualization and the development of the hiring hall in long-shoring and construction, what you find, rather quickly, is that a lot of people were thrown out of work by decasualization in these industries. As a matter of fact, on the Seattle waterfront the same work was done by one-sixth the number of workers after decasualization. The remaining workers were more fully employed, but many lost their jobs. In that respect, decasualization has the same impact as mechanization. We ought to be concerned about the social consequences of both.

I fully support decasualization: making fewer jobs, but better jobs, and those jobs better paying. What we are doing is to reserve work for the professionals and leaving little opportunity for the more marginal and less productive workers, which includes children. We have to be concerned with the social consequence of this. As I see it, it is a very difficult area. We ought to recognize that there are unfavorable social consequences even to good actions.

What we really need is an effective human resources policy in agriculture. And this means adequate quantities of qualified labor will be attracted to enter and remain in agriculture only when its wages and working conditions are competitive with those of other employers who are seeking labor. Agriculture cannot and should not count on taking itself from essentially a captive labor force with no other alternatives.

First of all, it must be recognized that the national employment policy is deeply committed to destroying captive labor force conditions and that the various Federal programs and policies are devoted to providing improved work alternatives to the disadvantaged, undereducated, non-English speaking and other groups who in many areas have been the mainstay of at least the seasonal agricultural labor force.

The only Federal occupational training programs specifically targeted on agricultural labor--the seasonal and migrant farmworker programs funded under Section 303 of CETA, have in effect (but not by design) attracted labor out of agriculture, not within it, in order to upgrade income of those families. The national commitment to provide everyone with a reasonable employment option is so great that it will certainly overshadow the claims of any sector that it must maintain a guaranteed pool of cheap occasional labor if that implies countenancing a captive labor force.

Secondly, a captive labor force has not been a good source of the quality of labor agriculture increasingly needs, and that is because of increasing mechanization and so on. Quality must be competed for in the open market. In the long run, a captive labor force is not, from the employer's perspective, a good idea.

If the income of workers is going to rise, as it must in order to provide sufficient labor, then the productivity must also rise in order to pay for the higher wages plus the fringe benefits and other worker remuneration. In much of agriculture today labor productivity is still very much below where it can and should be. This inefficiency entails costs to workers and producers alike. Without sustained productivity increases, there will be no sustained increases in real farmworker income from agriculture. In order to raise labor productivity, it will be necessary to move away from the highly casual labor patterns and toward employment stability. That is because workers' training and accumulated experience are necessary to raise productivity, and employers will need to retain employees longer to recoup investment in developing work skills. They are unlikely to make investments in people they know will not be with them long enough to produce returns on that investment.

In order to retain workers in a more stable form of employment, the quality of work they do will have to be upgraded. Advancement opportunities, better working conditions and amicable and respectful relations between employers and workers are but a few of the improvements that need to be made in the agricultural work environment.

I will point out one example which struck me recently. Look at that fantastic Research and Development (R&D) network--that Extension network--which has done so much for agriculture. Through research on mechanization, Extension has helped reduce labor needs, but they have also done some things which have enhanced agricultural work. For example, they have developed dwarf trees in deciduous fruits which make picking easier. But, clearly, the USDA has not done that as a conscious policy. They have not set the objective to do something that is work enhancing. This is a by-product of some other aim. And what we really need as well as labor displacing research is some work enhancing research. Taken together, these improvements I have mentioned should improve the overall quality of life for agricultural workers.

Next, there is the issue of community support for agricultural workers. There is a tremendous diversity in how farm communities treat agricultural workers apparently. In some they are shut out and are not welcomed. It would be useful to see how communities deal with agricultural workers. Efforts are needed to ensure workers will be able to enjoy health, housing, education and social acceptance and other community benefits at a level similar to other members of the community.

Finally, as befits the most fundamental objectives and commitments of this nation as a free and democratic society, an effective human resource policy will seek to provide expanded options for all people, including those in agriculture, to determine the course of their lives. People should not remain in farming, either as farm operators or as hired workers because they have no other decent option to earn a living.

Therefore, in summary, the goals of a human resource policy in agriculture should include six items:

(1) to increase farmworkers' annual income,

(2) to increase productivity of labor and improve efficiency in the utilization of agricultural labor,

(3) to stabilize employment patterns,

(4) to improve the quality of agricultural work,

(5) to improve the quality of life of agricultural workers, and

(6) to expand options for self-determination.

Taken together, these goals address the needs of both employers and workers, indicating that the welfare of each group is, in the long run, inextricably bound to the welfare of the other.

A SUMMARY OF MAJOR POLICY ISSUES

I. The Migrant Farm Labor System

The farm labor system, as it currently functions, serves neither the employer nor the employee well. Therefore, there is a need to restructure the system. This would involve stabilizing jobs through such means as decasualization, unionization and other work agreements which would provide more continuous work as well as compensation and work-place protection comparable to other industries. Such action would have certain social consequences which must be faced. For example, the number of jobs will be reduced and the skills levels required will be increased. This will entail upgrading of work skills of the more productive workers. Displaced workers and children will have to be provided for outside of farm work or through social support systems.

II. Migrant Farm Labor

Migration for farm labor employment rarely pays a living wage. Dependency on migratory labor is not satisfactory for the employers. Exploitation, poor housing and mobility, plus the poverty income level are disruptive to individuals and families, leading to mental and physical health problems, limited opportunity for education and better employment options. Ultimately the ending of migration by families may be the only solution to many farm labor problems.

III. Child Labor

In 1948, an amendment to the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act regulated work in agriculture for children under age 16 during school hours. Subsequent amendments have extended such protection over longer periods of time and prohibited child labor entirely in hazardous situations. Yet, children by the thousands continue to work in the fields.

Child labor is detrimental to mental and physical development of the child. Child labor must inevitably affect the economics of agricultural labor through the removal from the adult job market of those jobs taken by children. Elimination of child labor from agriculture could be expected to create a hardship, temporarily, for some families who are dependent upon working as a family unit. However, there is reason to believe that where child labor is removed, adult productivity is increased and wages improve sufficiently to overcome any initial hardship.

IV. Immigration

For over a century newly arrived immigrants from all over the world have provided sources of cheap farm labor. Careful regulation of immigration is required to avoid the formation of easily accessible pools of exploitable labor. Children involved in widespread undocumented immigration are especially vulnerable, both at the point of entry and in the communities where they eventually reside. Facilities at entry and deportation points for care and protection of children are crucial, as are access, on a non-discriminatory basis, to education, health and other social services.

V. Rural Development

Farm workers and their children, living in rural areas, generally do not find adequate community facilities and services such as public transportation, hospitals, safe water supplies and housing. Even such institutions as the public schools may be of a poorer quality. The improvement of these services and facilities and their increased accessibility to the rural poor would upgrade the quality of life and increase employment options and career choices for the young, as well as for those already in the labor force.

VI. Research and Development

Data on farm workers is inadequate and data collected, as presently, on a nationwide basis have tended to distort employment patterns and labor needs which are determined by regional conditions of soil, weather and crops. Demographic data available on movements of migrant farm workers and their families are limited. And, in the social services area, cultural and ethnic understandings frequently are unavailable to program planners and service providers.

In agricultural research emphasis has been on improving crops and reducing labor intensivity through mechanization and changes in plants and trees. This research, using tax-based revenues, has not provided an equitable approach to the kinds of work which would result in direct benefit to the worker through more production oriented and safer working conditions.

VII. Child and Family Support Systems

Emphasis of most social service programs has been on remediation. Consequently, little attention has been directed toward preventive measures and the kind of community and family support systems which will help the family stay out of difficulty and plan for their total welfare.

As workers and families face displacement from farm work through mechanization and decasualization of farm jobs, they need help to relocate, to retrain for other farm and non-farm jobs. And, for the elderly and disabled, who cannot be relocated or retrained, a permanent support plan is needed.

VIII. Self-Determination for Farm Workers

Aspects of the farm labor system, such as poverty and the crew leader, have created dependency in generations of farm workers. However, recent events have demonstrated the ability of farm workers to speak for themselves and to secure improved working conditions. Nevertheless, in the face of the complexity of the farm worker issues, resolution seems possible only if all the parties involved--employers, governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations and the consumer--join hands with the farm workers in efforts to provide those conditions in which the farm worker can live as an independent and self-determined human being.

EPILOGUE

Perhaps, at no time in recent years has the outlook for a public policy favorable to children, and especially children of the poor, been more bleak.

Since the Symposium on Public Policy and the Migrant Child, held in October 1980, a new President has been elected and the leadership of Senate Committees, central to the concerns of migrant child advocates, has passed into the hands of fiscal and social conservatives.

The first six months of the new administration have brought proposed budget cuts in most programs developed over the past two decades to serve the needs of poor and special children. And, some programs have been eliminated completely in these proposals.

In keeping with his basic political philosophy, and to fulfill a campaign promise to lessen the Federal government's involvement in the state and local governments, the President has proposed other major changes. These changes would reduce controls governing federal money received by the states and local governments and would transfer these funds to the states in block grants. Many education, health and social service programs which have provided services to poor, disadvantaged and handicapped children are included in, and, hence, threatened by these proposals. This plan would effectively end mandated services for the poor and handicapped since few, if any, restrictions would be attached to these block grants.

Another administration action, the cancellation of the White House Conference on Children which had been in the planning stages for months, has lessened the possibility of any overall new national approaches to children's policy. Traditionally these Conferences, held every ten years, provided a forum for generating policy issues and formulating ways of implementing solutions to child and family problems.

As the Congressional budget process moved to completion prior to the August recess, the House and Senate had approved much of the President's requested budget cuts. However, there was sufficient resistance to block granting to save a number of programs in the areas of health, education and social services. Even as the Conference Committee reports were being acted upon in the closing days of July it was difficult to determine just how far-reaching this turn-around in national policy would be.

Ironically, migrant children appear to have lost less than poor and disadvantaged children in general, largely because they, although frequently eligible, have not been receiving benefits from many of those social services, education, health and nutrition programs which have been most seriously affected by cut-backs in funding and block granting. Major categorical programs serving migrant children will not be block granted. These include the Migrant Health Act, the Bi-lingual Education Act, Head Start and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act.

The Education and Consolidation Act of 1981 incorporates parts of the previous Elementary and Secondary Education Act. A new Title I has replaced many of the specific provisions of ESEA, Title I, which provided supplemental education services for disadvantaged children, including migrant children. In the final Conference Report which went to the floor of the House on July 31, the migrant education program as mandated under the ESEA, Title I, was moved intact to Title I of the 1981 Education Act. The new Act will become effective in 1983.

Cuts in school lunch programs, which may close some school lunch rooms and cutbacks in funds for food stamps and for the Women, Infants and Children Supplemental Food Program (WIC) will directly affect the well-being of migrant children and their families.

The full impact of the block granting to the states of funds for Title XX of the Social Security Act, which provides day care services, the elimination of the Comprehensive Education and Training Act (CETA) the curtailment of Legal Services and the uncertain future of the Child Welfare Adoption and Assistance Act of 1980 will not be known for some time. Farmworker and other community groups serving migrant farm workers are already being notified that some grants will not be renewed.

Even those programs for migrant children which have survived this change in national priorities, will share in the general cutbacks imposed upon education, health and social welfare services. Migrant education, alone, will lose $8.2 million in 1981

Of special concern to advocates for migrant children and farm workers is the radical change of direction in public policy for the poor and for persons of special need, which is represented by the philosophy behind the budget cuts and the block granting of program funds to the states.

Experience has shown that state and local governments are reluctant, if not resistant, to providing special services to groups which have little political voice or whose needs are so great that they require substantial expenditures for special programs, personnel and equipment. There is no reason to believe that such governments would serve these populations any better now than they did twenty years ago.

Over the past half century, we have operated on a policy which supported the concept that every citizen is entitled to have certain life sustaining needs met. If any person is unable to work and provide for these needs himself, then the government would provide essential support. In the past six months, representatives of this Administration have made it clear that such entitlement is not to be taken for granted. At least for the present, it seems certain that this new policy has put an end to the incremental approach to solving social and economic problems.

As the same time as we may deplore the policy changes which would curtail direct service programs to migrant and other poor children, and join with others in opposing them, we will be guided in our work by the conclusion of the Symposium. It was clear, as the Symposium looked at the overall economic and social policies, that, important as they are, social programs can never be the answer. That can be found only in radical changes in farm labor utilization and the agricultural labor market, thereby, ultimately eliminating the migrant worker from the farm labor system.

It is not likely, given the present policies in regard to poor and disadvantaged, that we can expect leadership from the Federal government in improving conditions for farm workers. The kind of negative leadership which the President has introduced has dashed the hopes of the truly needy, especially the migrant child.

In the summer of 1981, hundreds of thousands of this country's poor children, toil in the summer heat, harvesting food crops for the nation's tables. They are working simply to help their families survive at wages below the poverty level. The opportunity for these children to break away from the physical and mental bondage of migratory farm work was almost inconceivable before. Now, it may well be impossible in their childhood.

Child advocate groups will need to press forward with efforts to effect needed policy changes while continuing to concentrate on maintaining present services and protective legislation, in order to meet the basic needs of migrant farm worker families we are serving. We will need to choose our priorities carefully. This, along with a judicious use of available funds and the utilization of voluntary and other community resources, will help to maintain continuity of services during this difficult period in American history.

During this retrenchment in services, policy makers and program developers, as well as child advocates, would do well to evaluate the effectiveness and appropriateness of present approaches to the migrant child problem.

Two potential sources of additional help have been neglected. One of these is those voluntary agencies which have never been involved with migrant children. And, those which, in the rush to implement the new wave of community-based, federally funded programs for the poor in the 1960s, were either pushed out of traditional community service roles for migrant farm workers or else abandoned their roles to government funded agencies.

The second source of assistance is from the employer of farm labor. We should push ahead with efforts to get these employers to develop and adopt such personnel practices and innovative employment models which will provide an adequate level of income for at least a segment of the present farm labor force.

But, finally, as advocates for migrant children, we must keep in mind that our most productive goal is not to keep running to catch up with the ever expanding needs of the migrant farm worker population, but to set in motion forces which will bring needed change to the farm labor market and enable the workers to take charge of their own lives.

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